



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Friday
25 October 1991

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FBIS-AFR-91-207

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25 October 1991

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Zaire

Diaka Continues Government Formation Efforts

Protest Against Embassies Held

AB2410155291 Paris AFP in French 1504 GMT
23 Oct 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 23 Oct (AFP)—The Lumumba National Movement (MNL), led by Mr. Christophe Ngbenye, this morning demonstrated in Kinshasa in front of the French, U.S., and Belgian Embassies and delivered a statement accusing those countries of being "responsible" for the situation in Zaire.

In its statement, the MNL accused in particular these three countries of having maintained, "through their deliberate will," the country in "permanent dependency and underdevelopment," by giving their "material, financial, and media" support to the political class that has ruled Zaire since independence (1960).

The MNL also accused these countries of having "fomented a plot" at independence, "in complicity with the political minority constituting Zaire's present political class," to destabilize systematically the institutions of the legal and democratic government of Patrice Lumumba, "the first prime minister of the country who was quickly toppled and assassinated."

Mr. Ngbenye, who claims "Lumumbist legitimacy," in 1964 led the bloody Mulelist rebellion, in the eastern part of the country. The rebellion resulted, according to official figures, in the deaths of 500,000 persons including several foreigners. That rebellion was launched against the central government of Joseph Kasavubu, first president of democratic Congo, and in which the present head of state assumed the functions of commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Mr. Ngbenye later sought refuge in Egypt before returning to Zaire about 10 years ago following a general amnesty for former rebels and other political exiles.

'Calm' Reported in Lubumbashi

EA2410164791 Lubumbashi Voix du Zaire in French
0430 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] The situation is calm in Lubumbashi after two days of looting and agitation. [passage omitted]

Mungul Diaka on Mobutu Talks

LD2410145291 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French
1143 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Mungul Diaka, president of the Rally of Democrats for the People, and member of the Sacred Union, was yesterday appointed prime minister of the crisis government. A well-known figure in Zairian politics, Mungul Diaka was several times a minister during what is generally called the Second Republic. Yesterday

evening the new prime minister replied to the questions of Mouamba Kasha live in the studio of Tele-Zaire. Here are his first statements:

[Begin recording] [Mungul Diaka] Today, this morning, Wednesday, 23 October 1991, I was consulted by the president of the republic, who proposed that he would charge me with forming a crisis government. I—in the higher interest of our people—agreed to assume the heavy responsibility of forming a crisis government after lengthy and deep thought; after weighing the pros and cons; having regard for the exceptional gravity of the situation—economic and social, as well as political—prevailing in the country for the past month; and taking account of the deadlock in which the country risks getting bogged down.

However—and I wish to stress this—before accepting the head of state's offer, I was anxious to detail my conditions for his benefit. These may be summed up as follows: First, total freedom in choosing the structure and composition of the government. Second, total freedom in conducting the affairs of state as a whole with, of course, the assistance of my government team. Third, the need to see the national sovereign conference resuming and continuing its proceedings in the shortest possible time.

There you have the conditions I set for the head of state. The head of state registered his agreement, and I agreed to form the government, as I have just explained.

[Kasha] Mr. Prime Minister, how did you actually react to your appointment, because we were expecting the reappointment of Etienne Tshisekedi, who is a member of the Sacred Union? I think that it was at yesterday's meeting that this candidate was proposed—proposed again to the president of the republic by the Sacred Union. (the Union to which you belong).

[Mungul Diaka] I must tell you how I reacted, as it was something which one would have to be surprised to expect: I was not a candidate to be prime minister and, as I have told you, when the president proposed that I form the government, I realized immediately that he had not accepted the proposal which had been made to him. And as a statesman, I immediately realized that the country was once again in a total impasse. Faithful to the undertaking I have always made to serve the people, and only the people, I set conditions, as I have just explained to you. From the moment when there was no ambiguity over the matter, I considered that I should serve the people by trying to get the country out of the current crisis. I said [words indistinct] [end recording]

Kinshasa Riots, Tense Atmosphere

LD2410152191 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] [Announcer] Further rioting broke out this morning in Kinshasa, the Zairian capital, the day after President Mobutu appointed a new prime minister,

replacing Etienne Tshisekedi. He is, I remind you, Mungul Diaka, a man of about 60 years of age. This morning, barricades were erected in several main streets of the town. The atmosphere is tense, as this report from Caroline Dumet confirms:

[Dumet, against background noise of shouting] This is what can be heard in the streets of Kinshasa since this morning. Military vehicles are patrolling throughout the town—at Matonge, Limete, Kitambo, Iolo—just about everywhere the scenario is the same. The regular Army and the special Presidential Division, in uniform and in plain clothes, are going into action to disperse the gatherings. Officially they fire in the air. General Mahele, the new chief of staff, is travelling around in a Mercedes, attempting to calm the demonstrators, as this morning Kinshasa awoke to protests against the prime minister appointed yesterday. Mungul Diaka—thief; Mobutist; incompetent—give us back Etienne Tshisekedi; these are the chants from Kinshasa residents in the few passing vehicles.

This morning there were no buses operating. There were barricades of tires and burned-out cars. The headquarters of the MPR, the former single party, has once again been ransacked. The demonstrators even attacked the residence of the prime minister [not further specified] several times.

Finally—a new element—the demonstrators are very aggressive toward Westerners. White people are accused of supporting Mobutu—an ex-patriate has just been seriously injured by a stone that was thrown at him. He has been repatriated. At the present time the situation is still very tense, and the prime minister remains out of sight.

[Announcer] Note further with regard to Zaire that according to the humanitarian organization Medecins sans Frontieres of Belgium, the riots at the beginning of the week in Lubumbashi resulted in 17 deaths and more than 120 injured. A second group of refugees from Lubumbashi has arrived in Brazzaville—400 people in total, notably French, Belgians, Lebanese and Italians.

Official Media Disrupted

AB2410140691 Paris AFP in French 1232 GMT
24 Oct 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 Oct (AFP)—Zairian official media, the television, national radio, and press agency, AZAP, were affected by some disruptions this morning which, in particular, prevented Zairian Television from presenting its late morning programs. The national radio, "La Voix du Zaire" carried a "minimum" news bulletin, according to the presenter, 10 minutes behind schedule. At the national press agency, AZAP, the editorial rooms were completely empty by late morning.

The national radio, in its news bulletin, rebroadcast a statement by Mungul Diaka in which he stated that he had been given "total freedom" by President Mobutu to form his government and "to conduct state affairs."

The protest, which is developing within the official media, follows a general assembly of senior staff and workers of the Zairian Radio and Television Services who, in a statement published yesterday evening, demanded the resignation of their chairman and managing director, and denounced the presence of soldiers on the premises of the radio and television station.

Military Runs Evening News Bulletin

AB2410204591 Paris AFP in English 2015 GMT
24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Kinshasa, Oct 24 (AFP)—The evening news bulletin on Zairian television was read and produced by military men, including a lieutenant and a sergeant-major.

The news program was mainly taken up by a re-run of a declaration made Wednesday evening by Mungul Diaka, following his nomination as prime minister. [passage omitted]

Opposition on Support for Tshisekedi

AB2410151691 Paris AFP in French 1500 GMT
24 Oct 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 Oct (AFP)—The Sacred Union of Zaire, which comprises the main opposition parties, this afternoon reaffirmed "its total confidence" and its "firm support for Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi alone."

The Sacred Union also condemns "the felony Mr. Bernardin Mungul Diaka committed by being appointed prime minister," a communique issued at the end of a meeting of the permanent secretariat of the Union, presided over by Mr. Kibassa-Maliba, stated.

The Union further declares that it "proclaims the reelection of Mr. Etienne Tshisekedi as prime minister as well as the reelection of his government."

Diaka Gives Televised Address

LD2410211591 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television
Network in French 1908 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Television address to nation by Zaire Premier Mungul Diaka on 24 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Diaka is seen standing in his garden surrounded by family and aides] [Words indistinct] are already there. We are going to work [changes thought] if you work until midnight then we will work until midnight. Because the republic cannot wait. It cannot remain without a government, especially with extremely important problems, not only those of the crisis but also those of violence, intolerance, and insecurity which are setting foot in our country. I think—and this is what I said to the delegates to the conference—that in choosing the ministers to be appointed, they should know that we

intend to completely follow the rule of democracy, with full independence, with full freedom. But of course within legality. I would not say discipline because there is no discipline, but within legality and the respect of property of others and human beings. I think that as soon as the government is formed, this will be our basic and priority task so the country can breathe in peace again.

We have just come out of a single-party system. I, Mungul Diaka, have fought against this regime for 22 years, 22 years because I cohabited with President Mobutu only from '65—when I was designated by my region to participate in the government—to '69. After that, the single-party regime stated to emerge and I thought that the idea I had of ruling a modern country was not in tune with the single-party system. Well, one does not leave a single party to slide into a single party [repeats the sentence]. There are 300 political parties, there are numerous associations of the civilian society. Everyone in its field, everyone according to its concept, the idea each one has of the state, and so on, all this should be free, free, and I say free! When we face elections, may the best win. This will be the rule. May the best win. This country will never know salvation outside this [rule].

I intend to strive to give it hope. I will work hard. I will fight the way I am known! The way I know myself. I will fight and I hope I will succeed. First in the capital, because everyone knows that 45 percent of the population of Kinshasa are my brothers. [passage omitted] We will succeed because I believe in the existence of a popular logic, a popular wisdom and I don't think at all, [changes thought] I don't dwell in demagoguery, that is not my role. I have been charged to ease the political situation. I have been charged to reconcile this people with itself. [passage omitted]

I know how to serve and to serve well. And I did not wait until 24 April 1990 to raise my voice. I dared to talk to President Mobutu. I dared to tell him when everybody was silent and did not dare to talk! Who will challenge me? We will succeed with freedom and democracy and may the best win! I decided to carry out my consultations on the geopolitical basis. This is to give the political parties the chance to quietly prepare the field work, to quietly prepare their future elections because everybody will feel his presence in my government, either physically or morally. I should even say [laughingly] a government of gendarmes to watch each other to avoid any maneuvering!

There is a desire to misguide and cheat the people and lie to it. As far as I am concerned I have always adopted the language of truth! When I can I say I can! When I cannot, I say I cannot!! I am never wrong! That is why I am one of the rare politicians of this country who has had a 30 year political career and still standing! Twenty-six years of dictatorship and Mungul Diaka has still not been forgotten! One should do it! I am aware of the present difficulties. We will fight and take the bull by the horns to succeed. I will put down the price, I will give it determination and I will give it all I can. I want to start

my consultations now. I hope they will not last a long time, because the republic has no time.

Calm Reported in Kinshasa 25 Oct

LD2510090391 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French
0800 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Excerpt] In the national news the major item remains the appointment of Bernardin Mungul Diaka as prime minister. Yesterday this appointment gave rise to acts of violence in the capital. This morning, life has resumed [as heard] in Kinshasa.

Despite these actions the prime minister is continuing his dealings to form a crisis government. Later, at 1100 [1000 GMT], he will address the national and international press before conferring with the delegates of the political parties, civilian groups, and public institutions attending the sovereign national conference. [passage omitted]

Journalists Demand TV Director, Aide Resign

LD2410153391 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French
1143 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The news in the country is dominated by what one may call the war between the classics and the moderns at OZRT [Zaire television network]. Indeed, the cadres and staff of OZRT decided yesterday to totally liberate information in all its forms, by entrenching the independence of the editorial boards. They also rehabilitated all the journalists who, as they believe, were punished arbitrarily. In addition they are demanding that all political coloring be removed from the beginning of all radio and television programs.

We must understand they are demanding that radio and television programs no longer be preceded by the usual excerpt from a speech by the head of state. In order to enable the cadres and staff of the OZRT to work in, they say, a democratic spirit, the general assembly has asked for the immediate suspension of OZRT's director general and his assistant. However, during the discussions at this general assembly, the participants were asked to send the conclusions of their deliberations to the general directorate, which would then submit them to the competent bodies in the broadcasting corporation for study.

It is true that although it constitutes an appropriate instrument of dialogue, the general assembly of cadres and workers is not a legal body of the OZRT. Indeed, the Administration Board, the Management Committee, and the Board of Auditors constitute the only legal bodies of a state-owned enterprise, as stipulated by the (Lacrilion) law. The general directorate of the OZRT is, however, still open to any negotiations which could help break the deadlock. Meanwhile, and out of respect for the listeners and the

viewers, the general directorate will endeavor to ensure a minimum service, both on radio and television. For the time being the resignation of the director general and his assistant is still not being considered.

PALU Candidate for Presidential Elections Named

*LD2410135591 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television
Network in French 1143 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Text] Mr. Gizenga, first secretary of the Unified Lumumbist Party [PALU], is running as a candidate for the post of president of the republic in the next presidential elections. The decision was made by PALU's Political Bureau at the end of a series of extraordinary

sessions held recently following Mr. Gizenga's news conference in Brussels. Mr. Gizenga is politically, physically, morally, and intellectually sound, says a statement issued by PALU's Political Bureau in order to qualify this choice, which also corresponds, according to the same source, to the deep aspirations and expectations of the population. PALU, which during these meetings was largely inspired by its leader's news conference, considers that it is time—within the framework of a new international order—that the nations were led by statesmen who are credible, honest, righteous and popular. With this in mind, PALU relies on the rallying of the Unitarian Nationalists in Zaire who, it thinks, are in the majority.

Djibouti

Foreign Minister, RPP Leaders Meets 21 Oct

EA2110193091 *Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali*
1700 GMT 21 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Moumin Bahdon Farah today met with the chairmen of the People's Rally for Progress [RPP] cells. The participants at the meeting discussed the security problem facing the country. The meeting was held following an invasion by an armed group of the southern region of the country. [passage omitted]

'Invasion' by Foreign Forces 'Contained'

EA2410214591 *Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali*
1700 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] The Armed Forces and the Security Forces of the Republic of Djibouti were involved in fighting at the country's border following the incursion by foreign armed forces into the country. This was contained in a report distributed to the media today by the country's minister for defense, Mr. Ismail Ali.

The minister said the fighting ceased following the swift action by the Armed Forces, who contained the invasion. The minister said two members of the Djibouti Armed Forces were wounded during the fighting and are now in the hospital. The enemy casualties were given as 12 dead, while numerous small arms were left behind by the fleeing forces.

The minister for defense, speaking on behalf of the president of the Republic of Djibouti, al-Haji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, commended the Djibouti Armed Forces and Security Forces for their swift action in repulsing the enemy.

Finally, the minister called on the citizens to remain alert, while assuring them that the country's army is capable of containing the situation and maintaining peace and stability in the country.

Railway Traffic Blockage With Ethiopia Continues

AB2010174091 *Paris AFP in English* 1722 GMT
20 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Djibouti, Oct 20 (AFP)—Traffic on the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway has remained blocked since October 4 because of a deadlock in Ethiopia between the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and the Issa and Gurgura Liberation Front (IGLF), rail company sources said.

Forces of the two groups are confronting each other at Chinileh, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Dire Dawa, and above all at Errer, 60 kms (37.5 miles) northwest of Dire Dawa, the sources said.

Error was the scene of bloody clashes at the beginning of the month between the two sides, leaving about 100 dead. [passage omitted]

While the EPRDF, which is in power in Addis Ababa, is demanding that the Issa forces withdraw to a distance of 50 kms (31 miles) either side of the track, the IGLF is demanding the withdrawal of Tigray-origin forces from localities along the line.

The IGLF regards the EPRDF forces as having no legitimacy for the maintenance of security in this Issa-populated region. [passage omitted]

The confrontation over control of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway has seriously disrupted the trade that normally uses this route. Prices of Ethiopian fruit and vegetables on the Djibouti market have tripled. Following a 10-day halt in supplies, some are now coming in by large truck, but price speculation is rampant.

In the other direction, the carriage of food aid into Ethiopia has been hampered and supplies of vegetable oil, tinned tomatoes, textiles and vehicles coming into the port of Djibouti bound for Addis Ababa have been halted.

The troubles on the rail line come as Djibouti has just decided to reopen its border with northern Somalia after a period of troubles and insecurity on that side of this Horn of Africa state.

Ethiopia

Further Reportage on Sudan's Al-Bashir Visit

Talks With Meles Begin

EA2410173091 *Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia*
in Somali to Neighboring Countries 1200 GMT
24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Mr. Meles Zenawi, the president of the Ethiopian Transitional Government, and [Lieutenant] General Umar Hasan al-Bashir, the president [as heard] of Sudan, have commenced official talks at the presidency, Addis Ababa.

Mr. Zenawi said the cultural and neighborly links between the peoples of Ethiopia and Sudan were longstanding. He said that over the past 17 years Ethiopia's leadership had not acted in the interests of the people with the result that both countries had been unable to work jointly to resolve the backwardness, hunger, and ignorance affecting them. The president of Ethiopia added that the two countries were now ready to serve their peoples genuinely.

For his part, the Sudanese president profoundly thanked the Ethiopian president and people for the warm welcome accorded him. He added that his visit to Ethiopia would strengthen relations between the two countries. He said they could work on many issues in the interests of their peoples and that he hoped these talks would be fruitful.

Urges Cooperation With Horn of Africa*EA2310223091 Khartoum SUNA in English 1622 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] Addis Ababa, 23 Oct (SUNA)—Chairman of the RCC [Revolution Command Council], Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir, has called for the establishment of coordination and cooperation among the Horn of Africa states to bring peace and stability to the area. The RCC chairman, who is currently here on an official visit to Ethiopia, made the call during the first session of official talks between the Sudan and Ethiopia. The session was co-chaired by Gen. al-Bashir and Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi.

"Sudan believes that the Horn of Africa area, which had been a symbol of human and natural disasters for a long time, should witness a new era of coordination and cooperation among its states", Gen. al-Bashir stressed. Bashir hailed the Ethiopian leadership's complete awareness of its role in the maintenance of peace and stability in the area, a matter that reflected positively on the bilateral relations and on regional issues. He reiterated Sudan's unlimited readiness to work with sisterly Ethiopia to secure the interest of the two countries.

The RCC chairman pointed out that Sudan and Ethiopia share identical points of view on most regional issues, top of which are the realisation of peace in the area, respect of the opinions of their people, besides supporting the struggle of the Palestinian and South African peoples.

He indicated that next November would witness the convocation of the joint ministerial committee between the two countries which will map out programmes for joint cooperation.

Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, who spoke at the outset of the session, affirmed that Gen. al-Bashir's visit, which he described as "historic", would serve the cause of development in the two countries. The two sides agreed at the talks to form three committees on joint cooperation in security, political and economic fields.

FRG Minister's Visit Linked to Improved Ties*LD2410094891 Hamburg DPA in German 1118 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] Addis Ababa (DPA)—A member of the German Federal Government has arrived on an official visit to Ethiopia, the first such visit since the end of the Ethiopian civil war. Helmut Schaefer, minister of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited refugee camps in the east of the country today at the start of his three-day tour.

Somalis live in the camps, as well as Ethiopian refugees who have returned to their homeland from Somalia. Schaefer wants to gain a personal impression of their plight and to examine the possibilities of a German contribution toward easing their suffering.

According to information from diplomatic circles, the Federal Government intends to emphasize by the visit that it is prepared for relations with Ethiopia to be intensified. A 30-year civil war in Ethiopia ended in May with the toppling of the Communist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Kenya**New Zealand's Bolger, Moi Hold Official Talks***EA2310222591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi and the visiting New Zealand Prime Minister James Bolger today at State House, Nairobi, held official talks. The talks centered on bilateral issues. The two leaders discussed among other matters cooperation in the environment, forestry, and animal production. President Moi and Mr. Bolger agreed that there was need to strengthen trade between the two countries in order to enhance strong and lasting cooperation. The two concurred that it was important to have an exchange of the youth, especially university students, in order to cultivate closer understanding and knowledge of the two countries.

President Moi and the New Zealand prime minister also reviewed the security situation in East Africa and the Horn of Africa. The two leaders emphasized the need for nonproliferation of nuclear armaments in order to ensure peace.

President Moi thanked New Zealand for her assistance, especially in forestry and animal production. He expressed hope that this would continue. [passage omitted]

Mauritius**Prime Minister on Upcoming Change to Republic***EA2310183791 Paris AFP in English 1704 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] Port Louis, Oct 23 (AFP)—Mauritius is to become a republic next March 12, the 24th anniversary of its independence from Britain, Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth said on his return from the Commonwealth summit in Zimbabwe.

Sir Anerood said he had discussed the change with Queen Elizabeth, and that the island's legal system would retain the right to appeal to the British Privy Council.

New foreign minister Paul Berenger was named last year to be the first president, but now says he does not want the post. The republic would be largely based on the Indian model, and the president would have no executive powers.

Jugnauth's government failed last year to get republican legislation passed by parliament, despite broad agreement across the political spectrum, because of a row in his coalition. But since last month's general election, he has a crushing 59 seats to the opposition's seven to ensure the passage of measures for republican status, which were first presented in 1983.

Somalia

Premier Departs on 'Urgent Visit' to Saudi Arabia

EA2410205791 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1815 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Mr. Omar Arteh Ghalib, the prime minister of the Somali Republic, at 1500 today left for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia from Mogadishu International Airport for an urgent visit. He travelled on a private aircraft sent for him by the Saudi Government. [passage omitted]

Official Accuses Siad Forces of 'Genocide'

EA2310203591 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1815 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] Bay Regional Chairman Aden Abdirahman aw Ahmed said that although it is planting season in Bay Region, the presence of Siad Barre forces in the area has made it impossible for the exercise to begin, and as a result this could cause a serious shortage of maize in the region. He said the remnants of Siad Barre forces are still terrorizing civilians in some parts of the region.

Speaking at a meeting in Mogadishu attended by peace-makers, clergymen, and elders from the region, formerly Upper Juba Region, he warned that unless the remnants of the Siad forces are rooted out of the areas they are holding immediately, serious food shortages will continue to be experienced in the country.

Mr. Aden Abdirahman said that whatever food reserves the local population had have been pillaged by the remnants of the fallen dictator. The regional chairman further said that apart from pillaging civilian food reserves and property, the soldiers have committed genocide against defenseless people, including the sick and the aged.

The regional chairman said attacks launched by the Barre soldiers have forced hundreds of thousands of people out of their homes, and an unknown number of refugees have died of various causes while fleeing for safety. He called on the international donor agencies to rush food aid, medication, blankets, etc. to the victims. He said the majority of the victims of the blood-thirsty soldiers of dictator Siad are women, children, and old people.

Tanzania

Water Ministry Director Shot Dead 21 Oct

AB2310180591 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT
23 Oct 91

[Text] Dar es Salaam, Oct 23 (AFP)—Tanzania's Water Ministry Director Raphael Lucas was shot dead on Monday [21 October] by unidentified gunmen believed to be common criminals, the official Tanzanian news agency, SHIHATA, reported here on Wednesday. Three men were arrested on Wednesday and charged with the murder, SHIHATA said. The report said Dr. Lucas was gunned down by the assailants who tried to snatch his car as he was about to park at the office of the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM-Revolutionary) Party in Mabibo in Dar es Salaam's Kinondoni district.

Malaysia's Mahathir Arrives for Trade Talks

BK2310124291 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English
1014 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Dar es Salaam, Oct 23 (OANA-BERNAMA)—Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamad arrived here Wednesday for talks with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi on ways to step up trade, cultural and other bilateral ties between Malaysia and Tanzania.

Dr. Mahathir and his delegation were given a red-carpet welcome at the Kilimanjaro International Airport with traditional dances and a guard of honour.

The three-day visit, the first by a Malaysian prime minister to this eastern central African nation, will be marked by the signing of an economic, technical, scientific and cultural cooperation between the two countries—the mechanism to translate closer ties in these areas into concrete terms.

The pact is to be signed later Wednesday or Thursday by acting Foreign Minister Sanusi Junid and Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation A.H. Diria, who had visited Kuala Lumpur last May to invite the prime minister to visit Tanzania.

Tanzania, the size of Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and the United Kingdom combined, had shifted from a socialist system to a free market economy since the new leadership took over in 1985.

With a population of 24 million, Tanzania is now seeking more foreign trade and investment, apart from assistance in its economic recovery programme.

Trade between Malaysia and Tanzania amounted to about US \$10 million last year, or 0.01 per cent of Malaysia's external trade.

Of the volume, more than US \$6 million were Malaysian imports of mainly cotton from Tanzania, which in turn imported more than US\$3 million worth of rubber and agricultural tools from Malaysia.

Meets President Mwinyi, Accord Signed

*EA2510102091 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] Dar es Salaam—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and his guest, the Malaysian prime minister, Dr. Mohamed Mahathir, this evening held official talks which centered on areas in which the two countries could cooperate. Some of the areas touched during the talks,

which lasted more than two hours at State House, Dar es Salaam, were the farming of palm oil, mining of minerals, industry, commerce, and tourism. The talks also considered the basis for cooperation between developing countries, which is stressed by Tanzania and Malaysia.

Following the talks, the two leaders witnessed a brief ceremony at which a cooperation agreement was signed between Tanzania and Malaysia in the economic, scientific, and cultural sectors. The agreement was initialed by Comrade Ahmed Hassan Diria, minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, and Mr. bin Junid Sanusi, Malaysian minister for agriculture, on behalf of their respective governments.

Comments on Patriotic Front; Meeting Postponed

PAC's Makwetu Arrives for Session

*MB2410113891 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1000 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Text] PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] President Clarence Makwetu has arrived in Durban to attend the Patriotic Front [PF] conference which starts in the city tomorrow.

Shortly after his arrival, he said that the PAC hoped to unite Africans behind the demands for a constituent assembly. Reuben Goldberg reports:

[Goldberg] Makwetu said Azapo's [Azanian People's Organization] nonattendance at the PF conference is not a problem. He said as far as the PAC is concerned, the aim of the PF conference is to unite Africans behind the demands for a constituent assembly.

The conference, which starts tomorrow, will be opened by Makwetu and ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela. Over 400 delegates from 70 political organizations, including a senior member of the Organization of African Unity, are expected to attend.

Two OAU Members To Attend

*MB2410153491 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in Afrikaans
1400 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Text] In Johannesburg high-level delegations from the ANC and the Labor Party [LP] held talks on the weekend's Patriotic Front conference to be held in Durban.

The Labor Party leader, Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said after the talks that his party wanted more clarification on issues such as transitional measures after a democracy. He reconfirmed that the Labor Party wants to maintain its own identity and said that Azapo's earlier demand for the party to resign from parliament is not in the interest of the electorate at this stage.

In the meantime, the PAC has announced that two members of the Organization of African Unity's Liberation Committee, Brigadier Hashim Mbita and Mr. M. (Kani), will arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow to attend the conference in Durban. This is the first time that representatives of the OAU will visit South Africa.

ANC on Patriotic Front Issues

*MB2410193691 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Text] The ANC wants an all-party conference before the end of November. It also says that unless there is new police determination to arrest those responsible for attacks on political leaders and killings on commuter trains there can be no talk of a new South Africa.

[Begin recording] [SABC reporter Ossie Gibson] NEC [National Executive Committee] member, Mr. Ronnie Kasrils, says the death of people in detention should be

fully investigated or the ongoing violence in South Africa will never be resolved. It was announced at the news conference that the South African Communist Party would allow Mr. Chris Hani to stay on as head of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—ANC Military Wing] and that ANC president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, would lead his delegation to the Patriotic Front conference in Durban from tomorrow.

Mr. Murphy Morobe says the PF conference, which will be addressed by a representative of the Organization of African Unity, will examine the current status of opposition forces.

[Morobe] And also, in terms of the opposition forces in relation to the positions of the South African Government. So in that sense I think that I would rather, in fact, take a more realistic assessment of the potential of the Patriotic Front at this stage, rather than looking forward towards a very definitive and well-rounded, and in fact, very, you know, concise, in fact, structure. I actually see a continuation of creating an atmosphere for increasing cooperation. [end recording]

Azapo Clarifies Stand on Meeting

*MB2410200891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2000 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[By Clyde Russell]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 24 SAPA—Azapo on Thursday night tried to clarify its position on the Patriotic Front conference, due to start in Durban at the weekend without Azapo participation.

In a statement, originally written in August but faxed to SAPA on Thursday night, Azapo said that the three liberation movements (ANC, PAC and Azapo) should have first held a "consultative conference" which would have led up to a PF.

The August statement said there was a "problematic sequence of events with regards to efforts leading towards a Patriotic Front, which if left uncorrected threatens to torpedo the launch of a genuine PF".

Azapo said it believed a conference should first be held by the liberation movements, at which the aims and principles of a PF would be discussed.

This "consultative conference" would also state, in clear terms, which prospective participants would be invited to the PF.

Azapo was expelled from its status as a co-convenor of the PF following the sending of a letter to 14 political organisations and parties calling on them to resign from government structures before the PF.

This move sparked a crisis in the PF, resulting in the ANC and the PAC stripping Azapo of its status as an organiser of the conference.

In another article, also faxed to SAPA on Thursday night, Azapo official Oupa Ngwenya argued that by not participating in the PF Azapo was merely sticking to its principle of "non-collaboration with the ruling class and its allies and political instruments".

He also questioned whether the PF conference was a "tactical marketing strategy" by the liberation movement to sell its positions to "everybody, be they inside or outside government structures, oppressed or not".

What was not contained in the article were reasons why Azapo agreed, after extensive talks with the PAC and the ANC, to act as a co-convenor of the PF.

Another unanswered question was why did Azapo act on its principles only after the three liberation movements had already agreed on who could attend the PF.

Attempts to contact Mr Ngwenya on Thursday night were not successful.

PF Spokesman on Azapo Absence

MB2510091191 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The questions of an interim government and a constituent assembly are expected to be high on the agenda at a major Patriotic Front conference beginning in Durban today. Azapo will not be among the 60 parties and groups attending; the DP [Democratic Party] will attend as observers. PF spokesman Mr. Murphy Morobe says Azapo's absence revolves around the question of trust:

[Begin Morobe video recording] I think that one of the things that South Africa increasingly throws up upon us is, that unless you are able to build your processes in such a way that trust becomes an integral part of that, at the end of the day, whatever conclusion you seek would never be a strong one, because that element of trust would be missing.

I think here, some may argue that that's not a sufficient reason to actually take the kind of action that we've taken. However, I think that you will understand our country is at a very critical stage here, and the fact of the matter is that we all have very strong principles, one way or the other. But there's a clear understanding here that we sit down as organizations, and make a determination to say: Look, guys, we have not worked together before at this scale, so let us actually set out very clear guidelines in terms of which we'll conduct ourselves, so that whatever we do, does not infringe upon the broad objectives that we've laid ourselves as a collective. [end recording]

Mandela Ill, Conference Delayed

MB2510100691 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0900 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The start of the Patriotic Front conference has been delayed in Durban. Henry Bolton is there:

[Henry Bolton] It would seem as if the 2-hour delay to the start of the Patriotic Front conference is that ANC president, Nelson Mandela, is sick. He was scheduled to deliver the opening address at 0900 [0700 GMT], followed by PAC President Clarence Makwetu.

An ANC spokesman couldn't confirm that Mandela had laryngitis, but did say an announcement will be made shortly by his deputy, Walter Sisulu, who is expected to speak in his place.

Almost 500 delegates from about 75 political, religious, community and other organizations are meeting at a beachfront hotel to find a formula to unite them in a Patriotic Front. Today is the first day of the 3-day conference at which key issues will be deliberated, with a hope that a common strategy on constitutional negotiation and transition will emerge.

New Unity Denies Participation

MB2510103491 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0728 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Cape Town Oct 25 SAPA—The New Unity Movement has denied claims in two Natal newspapers on Thursday that it was to attend the Patriotic Front [PF] conference in Durban, starting on Friday.

New Unity Movement President Mr Richard Dudley said his organisation's programme of political demands is a minimum, non-negotiable programme for the extension of full democratic rights to all South Africans in a united, non-racial South Africa.

"The Patriotic Front does not address this central issue in the struggles for liberation," Mr Dudley said.

He said the movement's policy centred on the building of unity among the oppressed's organisations dedicated "unequivocally to unity and our basic political demands".

"Our policy of non-collaboration with the machinery of oppression and those who operate it is also central to our approach to the struggle for unity and the democratisation of South Africa," Mr Dudley said.

IFP, NP, Government Talks on Multiparty Meeting

MB2410142891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] A joint committee of the South African Government, National Party [NP], and Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] held discussions on a multiparty conference in Pretoria today, and agreed that the conference should take place before the end of this year.

A joint statement issued by the minister of constitutional development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, and the chairman of the IFP, Dr. Frank Mdlalose, said a multiparty conference should be held as a matter of urgency.

They said the committee had made good progress in the consultations, and had achieved an understanding on all the issues concerned.

Urgency for Conference Noted

MB2510080191 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The government and the ANC [African National Congress] have not yet finalized a date for a multiparty conference, but have made further progress on the issue during discussions in Pretoria.

The minister of constitutional development, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, and the secretary general of the ANC, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, said in a joint statement that there had been agreement on the urgency of the matter, and the desirability of holding such a conference before the end of this year.

In a joint statement earlier, Dr. Viljoen and the chairman of the Inkhata Freedom Party, Dr. Frank Mdlalose, expressed the desire for the conference to be held before the end of this year.

Minister Viljoen on Interim Government Idea

MB2410115891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1003 GMT 24 Oct 91

[SAPA PR wire service: Interview with Constitutional Development Minister Dr. Gerrit Viljoen by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—article information supplied by Marlene Kromberg of RSA POLICY REVIEW, a monthly publication of the South African Communication Service. This article will appear in the January 1992 issue of RSA Policy Review, but is now released for immediate use: "Interim Government Will Create a Vacuum—Viljoen"]

[Text] [Reporter] State President F W de Klerk declared on October 17 that multiparty negotiations would commence soon. However, certain political role players, particularly radical groups that are not interested in a multiparty conference, insist increasingly on the establishment of an interim government. It is known that the government is not in favour of such a move, mainly because this would be unconstitutional. Could you elaborate on this?

[Viljoen] It is very important to emphasise that what the government rejects is an interim government as defined by the ANC [African National Congress] and some other organisations. This implies a government which replaces the present government by a suspension of the Constitution, by an abdication of power on the part of the current government and that a temporary, new government of some sort is instated which then governs by decree. In other words, it is not government in terms of the Constitution; in fact, there is no constitution in the country. The ultimate authority in the country depends on the arbitrariness of the people who will serve in this so-called interim government. In fact, even whether this

arrangement would only remain temporary or might turn into a permanent arrangement, is also an uncertainty. In this sense an interim government, defined in this way, is unconstitutional and unacceptable.

[Reporter] Mr de Klerk also recently said that government by way of decree by an interim government in a constitutional vacuum is totally unacceptable. What is meant by a 'constitutional vacuum'?

[Viljoen] If the Constitution is suspended or abolished, it means that there is no constitution in the country. This means that there is no legitimate authority to which the government's discretion is subjected. The government will thus only be accountable to its own volition and would therefore be able to issue decrees at its own discretion, as and when they are proposed. This may to a large extent be in line with the position in certain African countries, but this is not the kind of constitutional government which we regard as acceptable for South Africa.

The proposal of the ANC is that the Constitution be suspended, because while the Constitution is in force, the government has to function and be constituted according to the Constitution. They want the constitutional requirements abolished and an interim government established consisting of 'representatives of the people', as they put it. This, according to the government's point of view, is not according to the Constitution. The government accepts that a new constitution must be drafted to replace the existing Constitution. The current Constitution is unacceptable on the grounds of its racially based measures and the exclusion of blacks from political participation. However, such a new constitution must come about in a legal and constitutional way, having been formulated as a result of negotiation. The existing constitutional structures are also necessary to promulgate a new constitution in a legitimate and valid way.

[Reporter] After it became known that the ANC's intended proposals to be submitted to a multiparty conference include a proposal for an interim government, you said at a group discussion of the Johannesburg Press Club that the government would be prepared to negotiate what might constitute an interim government. Is the matter at all negotiable in view of the government's known viewpoint?

[Viljoen] Yes, I think it is indeed negotiable. The government has consistently reiterated, with regard to its standpoints, even standpoints about which it feels strongly, that it believes in an open agenda. The mere fact that you take part in negotiations implies that you are prepared to make adjustments by a process of give and take. The final product should, however, be acceptable to the negotiating parties. The government has very deliberately avoided identifying any viewpoints as non-negotiable or as so-called 'bottom lines'.

[Reporter] Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, recently described the forthcoming Patriotic Front conference as a 'parliament in the making', which will be representative of 18 million South Africans. How would you describe it?

[Viljoen] I think that that is quite a presumptuous and unrealistic description. A parliament is an elected body and this so-called Patriotic Front is a body of leaders of political organisations which do not have an elected base. I would furthermore describe it as a 'ganging-up' of political parties that are eager to unite their strength against the ruling party. To my mind, the intention of this Patriotic Front is more negative than positive. It is rather an attempt to muster people against the current government, allegedly against the apartheid system. It offers very little by way of a positive alternative.

This is, however, unnecessary, because the apartheid system has been rejected by the government of the day and has already been scrapped entirely in terms of its legislation by the current government, except for the Constitution which still has to be replaced. It is therefore not necessary to establish an anti-apartheid front.

A disadvantage of a Patriotic Front which endeavours to establish a kind of alliance between parties, may also be that they tie one another down by determining beforehand certain criteria which may lead, in a negotiation situation, to inflexibility, rigidity and the kind of coercive discipline which is found in a caucus. This is certainly not conducive to negotiation. I also think the name 'Patriotic Front' creates a false parallel with the position in Zimbabwe at the time. Zimbabwe was a colony where the inhabitants fought against a colonial authority. South Africa is a sovereign, independent country in which the issue that the Patriotic Front alleges it is fighting, namely apartheid, has already been rejected and abolished by the current government. Thus to establish a Patriotic Front is misleading, unnecessary and in the end nothing but an attempt by certain political parties to gang up against the government in a negative way.

[Reporter] Is your view that the establishment of such a Patriotic Front may lead to further unrest?

[Viljoen] It is possible that this may lead to further unrest. My objection to the Patriotic Front is, however, rather based on the principle that it is an unnecessary organisation and that it may build rigidity and inflexibility into the negotiation process.

[Reporter] Do you think that the envisaged Patriotic Front may be a stumbling-block in the convening of a multiparty conference or do you agree with certain political observers that the Patriotic Front is precisely a means of in fact involving the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Azapo [African People's Organization] in the multiparty conference?

[Viljoen] If as a result of the Patriotic Front more parties can be involved in the multiparty conference than would

otherwise have been the case, it certainly has an advantage. However, it remains an open question whether this is a sufficient advantage to balance out the disadvantages of the false impression created by a Patriotic Front.

[Reporter] In his parliamentary opening speech this year, the state president said that exploratory multiparty talks were the best way of ensuring that the result of the formal negotiation process will be legitimate, lasting and acceptable to most South Africans. Various political groupings are already involved in such exploratory talks, yet it seems that certain of the role players are still dragging their feet. What, in your opinion, is the cause of the delay?

[Viljoen] One must acknowledge that the incidence of violence, especially in the black community, coupled with intimidation at the political level, in fact made people uneasy and hesitant to commit themselves to a multiparty negotiation conference. One must concede that violence and intimidation are not readily reconcilable with free negotiation. Negotiation should be characterised by a free and untrammelled exchange of ideas, the debating of the merits of viewpoints and finally a free and voluntary decision in favour of certain viewpoints. Therefore the incidence of violence is without doubt a matter which contributed to the delay in the convening of a multiparty conference. After the acceptance of the national peace accord on September 14 this year by the leaders of almost 30 political parties and organisations, all reasons for delaying the multiparty conference further on the grounds of violence have fallen away. It has become imperative now to convene such a conference. It would be far easier to discuss the reasons underlying violence at such a multiparty conference, and to solve it and act against it jointly.

Another reason for the delay was in my opinion the fact that in certain organisations, notably in the ANC, a considerable degree of internal tension arose as a result of differences of opinion on various policy issues. Observers often remarked: 'These organisations have trouble in putting their act together'. Furthermore, I think the delay was motivated to create the opportunity and room to build up pressure by mass action and by inciting public unrest in order to force opponents in this way to certain viewpoints and in particular to exert pressure on the government.

[Reporter] In spite of the Peace Accord Mr Mandela of the ANC has made allegations in the recent past that referred to the state president's so-called 'killing machine' which was cited as being the cause of the violence. What is your response to this?

[Viljoen] I think Mr Mandela and certain other leaders of the ANC have actually acted in breach of the stipulations of the Peace Accord, because the accord clearly stipulates that people should refrain from making statements kindling hatred and enmity between groups. To make these sweeping statements without any evidence for it, as Mr Mandela has done, is highly irresponsible

and puts a question mark over the seriousness with which the ANC regards adherence to the accord. It is also questionable whether the ANC really understands what was said in and meant by the accord.

[Reporter] Do you regard the demands for an interim government as a delaying tactic of certain groupings that are not really interested in the actual constitutional negotiation conference?

[Viljoen] I think all groups realise that a peaceful negotiation process is imperative and that it is the only solution for our differences and our problems. I would rather regard the delaying tactic as an attempt to gain the greatest possible control and influence over the negotiation process by exerting pressure and by destabilisation. When certain parties are afraid of their arguments not being decisive enough, they try and compensate for lack of persuasive powers and quality arguments by building up pressure and tension and destabilisation, thereby attempting to force their opponents in a certain direction.

[Reporter] Recent media reports stated that the government might want to break the deadlock over the ANC's insistence on an interim government by establishing a so-called 'collective leadership'. Would you like to comment?

[Viljoen] The state president said earlier this year that he would be prepared to extend his cabinet and to appoint to it competent South Africans from various backgrounds if this is the outcome of negotiation at a multiparty conference. It is also possible that the government's own approach in its constitutional proposals regarding a collective presidency and a multiparty cabinet may serve as a model to establish a collective or multiparty leadership and cabinet either transitionally or finally in a new South African constitution.

[Reporter] Would that not at all constitute the same principle as an interim government?

[Viljoen] No, such a proposal can only be put into effect if it is negotiated in an appropriate way and if an agreement is reached on it and if the Constitution is then amended, and not abolished, to make provision for such a measure if an interim measure is required. Seeing that this constitutes a drastic change in the Constitution, it would probably also be necessary to get a mandate for such a step from the population by way of a referendum.

[Reporter] The state president has indicated that consideration may be given to certain transitional arrangements at the various legislative and executive levels in order to give leaders of the negotiating parties participation in the deliberation on the formulation of important policy decisions. Could the new Act on Interim Measures for Local Government be regarded as an example of this and could it not be a precursor for what some people might regard as an interim government? Are any similar transitional measures envisaged?

[Viljoen] Any action in terms of the act on interim measures for local government will indeed be a form of

interim measure or transitional dispensation. This act clearly states that it endeavours, while a new constitutional dispensation for local government is being negotiated, to afford those local communities who can succeed in negotiating new structures among themselves, the means of giving such negotiated results legal and valid form in order that it could be applied in practice. Such measures could also be possible at other government levels but should always be the result of negotiations. It must be measures that have been agreed upon and should then be implemented in a legal and valid manner. The declared intention of the government is that acceptable transitional measures should be negotiated at a multiparty conference. Transitional measures in the form that is provided for local government level could possibly also be negotiated for other levels.

[Reporter] The ANC has declared that it regards any transitional measures as unsatisfactory since the true issue is in fact the co-opting of anti-apartheid powers. Your comment?

[Viljoen] It is clear that the ANC would dearly like to have authority and power but is very reluctant to accept responsibility. They are therefore inclined to regard any form of participation in responsible decision-making as co-opting. However, the government acknowledges that the incorporation of parties outside the present system of government, in order for them to obtain a say in influencing decision-making, is not actually a complete change of system in the sense that such persons will obtain full and equal government authority. On the one hand the government is sensitive to making arrangements that can be denigrated as mere co-option. On the other hand, an interim and transitional measure inevitably brings about a certain retention of the existing system, as well as introduction of people from outside that system.

[Reporter] The ANC has furthermore said that its insistence on a 'sovereign interim government of national unity' stands. How do you interpret this definition?

[Viljoen] A sovereign interim government means that that government must have full and complete authority. This would only be possible if there is a radical amendment to the Constitution. The government has consistently and will continue to put the viewpoint that a constitutional change, be it interim or final, must be the result of negotiation. If it is a radical change it must also be sanctioned by way of a referendum of the electorate and in particular also of the voters of the present support base of the ruling party.

[Reporter] Is it not possible to create such structures already at this stage in order to give impetus to the forthcoming multiparty conference?

[Viljoen] Any new structures must be acceptable and to be acceptable they must be the result of negotiation. The instrument of negotiation envisaged by the government

is in fact the multiparty conference. Therefore any new structures, whether of a permanent or a transitional nature, must be sorted out and agreed upon through negotiation at such a conference. Therefore such structures cannot be created before a multiparty conference. A multiparty conference is now the priority and it seems to me that everybody agrees on that.

[Reporter] One of the arguments against an interim government is that it would compel the government to call a referendum among the present electorate, even before the nature of a new constitution, voting procedures and voters' representation is agreed upon. Your comment?

[Viljoen] An interim government requiring constitutional amendments would indeed only be instituted if the government obtains support for doing so by way of a referendum, as it has undertaken to do. Therefore the decision to institute an interim government, which would involve a real amendment to the Constitution and thus would require a referendum, at this stage, before a final constitution has been negotiated, would have to be considered with great circumspection. The trouble, effort and time that a referendum would demand, would have to be weighed up very carefully.

One has to consider for how long such an interim measure would be valid and whether it might not be better to wait until a complete new constitution has been negotiated before a referendum is held and the present Constitution is replaced altogether by a new one. It is in fact the government's standpoint that any referendum on a new constitution must be one in which all citizens participate and not only the present voters. In terms of the present legislation a referendum may be held among any sections of the population. A referendum is not part of the Constitution. It is a separate method of testing the opinion of the voters. It has no binding power, but it naturally has a tremendous moral authority. It also provides certainty about the level of support for a specific measure. An open referendum in which all members of the population can participate, but by means of which the support of certain groups, for example the whites, can also be gauged, is therefore possible without amending the Constitution.

[Reporter] Interim government implies the transfer of power from an existing elected government to a new regime. What are the dangers attached to such a step?

[Viljoen] If it comes about through the abolition or elimination of the Constitution, it means that a vacuum is created, that there is no longer a supreme authority in the land and that such a government can exercise its powers arbitrarily. The transfer of power from an existing government to a new government chosen according to a new constitution properly negotiated and established legally, is the aim that we are all striving for. The government, however, is convinced that it will still form an important part of a new government composed

under a new constitution although it will naturally no longer be the sole ruler. We are in fact in favour of a multiparty system.

[Reporter] Dr Bertus de Villiers, chief of the Centre For Constitution Analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council, holds the view that the National Peace Initiative on violence may already be regarded as a form of interim government between the most important political parties. Do you agree and at what stage of constitutional development, where a great measure of similarity exists between parties, could there possibly be talk of an interim government?

[Viljoen] There is a great measure of truth in that statement. The Peace Accord acknowledges, however, the existing Constitution and the structures, including the security forces, that exist and function in terms of the present Constitution. Furthermore the Peace Accord incorporates joint participation in deliberations on a very broad base into the whole system. It also provides for communities to be involved at regional and local level in the handling of violence and intimidation, and in the promotion of peace. These are all measures that bring about transition, participation and at the same time the maintenance of the existing Constitution in a mutually inter-acting manner.

[Reporter] Following on the peace conference the state president mentioned other agreements between organisations that were not referred to in the accord. Could you elaborate on this?

[Viljoen] There are, for example, agreements concluded between the government and the ANC in the so-called Pretoria Minute, the Groote Schuur Minute and the D F Malan Airport Agreement, particularly with regard to the ANC's undertaking to cease armed and related actions and to co-operate in making arrangements to supervise proper control over the carrying out of those agreements. There were also other negotiations between parties, for example the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, in which they jointly agreed that they would meet at top level to discuss their differences, which has not yet been carried out. With regard to these it was agreed during the conference that they are still recognised as valid.

[Reporter] Are you of the opinion that the Peace Accord was a necessary step prior to the commencement of the multiparty conference and do you believe that the various parties will keep to their promises?

[Viljoen] I sincerely hope that they will do so. I think that all responsible leaders ought to realise that it would be reckless irresponsibility to undermine the decisions adopted at the peace conference, because this would undoubtedly further fan the already high level of violence. To my mind it was, however, not necessary to establish the entire complicated structure of the peace conference that ultimately resulted in the Peace Accord. If the multiparty conference had already been convened earlier, it could have served as a suitable instrument to perform the task completed by the peace initiative. There was therefore a

considerable delay in that a multiparty conference did not exist. Consequently alternative procedures, that took up several months, had to be implemented in order ultimately to reach a peace accord.

[Reporter] As a result of the ANC's announcement that it intends to send some of its members abroad to be trained in state administration, great uncertainty prevails about the position of civil servants. What is your comment?

[Viljoen] The position of the civil service and of civil servants is defined in existing legislation and the government has given the undertaking that it would protect according to law the reasonable interests of the civil service and of civil servants during the transitional phase. The state president also said that the government will ensure that the impartiality, professionalism and the job security of the civil service would be entrenched in a new dispensation and in a new constitution. The government will therefore not accept a new dispensation in which reasonable provision for job security for members of the civil service is not embodied. This, as is the case with any of the points of dispute in the negotiation process, could, of course, potentially lead to a deadlock. There are various issues that must be negotiated and about which the different parties strongly disagree with each other. But the mere fact that they are prepared to negotiate indicates that they want to seek solutions. Negotiation is specifically needed when people differ from one another.

[Reporter] In conclusion: Certain political parties who in fact have a proven electoral base refuse to participate in the multiparty conference and constitutional negotiation while some of the negotiating parties regard a constituent assembly as a matter of procedure. What, in your opinion, would be the solution?

[Viljoen] Naturally it is most desirable that the entire political spectrum, from the far right to the far left, should be represented in a negotiation conference and in the multiparty conference that will prepare the ground for the ultimate negotiation forum. The government has, on its part, taken all possible steps to prevail upon political parties who have real support to participate. Ultimately, however, parties cannot be forced to participate. It must be voluntary participation and a party must be committed to peaceful negotiation in order to make its contribution meaningful. We hope that on the road ahead there would still be opportunities to persuade the unwilling that they can ensure the best contribution in the interest of South Africa, but also the best promotion of their own viewpoint, by participating rather than by remaining on one side. If one has a standpoint that is worthwhile, you must have enough confidence to present it during discussion and debate. The negotiation process is not going to be a short, swift process; it will take a long time. I believe that it would be possible to include latecomers to the negotiation process should they change their opinion and be prepared to participate.

Quibbling Over Nomination Stalls Peace Accord

MB2410103791 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 24 Oct 91 pp 1, 2

[By Billy Paddock: "Wrangle Over Official Stalls Peace Accord"]

[Text] Political squabbling over the nomination of one person to a key position is preventing the national peace accord from being implemented at grassroots level, a source close to the peace initiative said yesterday.

As parties to the accord wrangled over final composition of the peace secretariat, there were more killings on trains and at stations in Soweto yesterday.

At least nine people died and 36 were injured when armed gangs attacked passengers at stations and on trains in Soweto.

The ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha blamed each other's supporters for the killings. There have been more than 200 deaths in political violence since the signing of the accord on September 14.

The two mechanisms crucial to the implementation of the accord have still not been set up, despite the need for urgency expressed publicly by the peace committee overseeing the process and a resurgence of "revenge" attacks.

The source voiced concern that the "very thing the peace accord was designed to prevent—attacks and counter-attacks between parties—has resurfaced this week and the mechanisms designed to combat this are not yet in place because the politicians cannot agree on the person."

He said the four nominees of the political parties and the Justice Department official for the peace secretariat were not a problem. But of the four additional names put forward by the peace committee, one was regarded as unacceptable to one of the parties—believed to be Inkatha.

"This is delaying the whole process getting off the ground while people are dying out there," he said.

He said there were already signs that people at grassroots had lost faith in the ability of the accord to contain violence. Even signatories were not being careful enough in their public statements, leading supporters into believing they had lost faith in the accord.

The peace secretariat was designed to set up local and regional dispute resolution committees and special courts.

Twelve days ago peace committee chairman John Hall said the commission would be set up "within 10 days."

Hall was not taking calls yesterday "because he is being inundated with inquiries about the peace accord and what he is doing about it every time something happens in the townships," his secretary said.

Jonathon Rees reports that the ANC and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (CAST) yesterday called for an intensification of self-defence measures by township residents.

CAST deputy president Kgabisi Mosunkutu told a news briefing residents would be encouraged to "use whatever means necessary" to protect themselves.

Soweto police said they could not accept responsibility for continuing bloodletting.

And Soweto SAP [South African Police] spokesman Col. Jac de Vries said residents taking the law into their own hands was what caused violence. He appealed to political organisations to compel supporters to hand over "the criminals they harbour in their midst."

Police searched three peak-hour Soweto trains with no results yesterday evening. He said they were maintaining a "massive presence" at Nancefield hostel, the flashpoint of yesterday's violence.

SAP patrols were also riding on as many of Soweto's 600 daily trains as possible.

Ministry Issues Appointments to Peace Secretariat

*MB2410184891 Johannesburg SABA in English
1839 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Text] Pretoria Oct 24 SABA—The Ministry of Justice on Thursday announced four appointments to the Interim National Peace Secretariat.

The Ministry of Justice said in a statement that the appointments had been made in terms of the National Peace Accord, and that further appointments would be made soon.

The four people assigned to the Secretariat are: Advocate Gert Myburgh, MP [member of Parliament], Mr Jayendra Naidoo, Ms Suzanne Vos and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

"The Interim Secretariat will operate until a permanent Secretariat is established once legislation in this regard has been approved by Parliament," the statement said.

Interview With Peace Committee Chairman Hall

*MB2510083191 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1830 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Interview with National Peace Committee chairman John Hall by South African Broadcasting Corporation, SABC, presenter Penny Smythe, in the SABC TV 1 studio in Johannesburg on the Agenda program—live]

[Text] [Smythe] Good evening Mr. Hall and welcome to Agenda. The Peace Accord as we heard, was signed on 14

September. Why has it been less than successful in stopping the violence, getting peace on the road? What have been the problems, from your point of view as chairman, in getting the whole thing off the ground?

[Hall] Well, Penny, I think that expectations have been very high in that the Peace Accord would be effective very quickly. The fact that the political leaders signed the accord, they did so with great sincerity and with great commitment, but I don't think it's in their power just to turn a knob and have peace cease overnight [sentence as heard]. I think it's totally unrealistic to expect that to happen and the structures that are allowed for in the accord are actually quite complex and it's going to take time to get them in place.

[Smythe] Like what sort of structures? Could you give us some idea?

[Hall] Yes, well I think the general public is not aware that the peace committee itself's job is to govern the conduct of the political parties. The Peace Secretariat which in fact was finally constituted today, has a job of setting up regional conflict resolution committees countrywide.

[Smythe] Have those actually been put in place?

[Hall] There are about 10 of them that we are working on at the moment. There are many structures that are in place, long before the Peace Accord, as communities tried to get to grips with violence themselves and those will be incorporated, hopefully, in the Peace Secretariat structure. And then today the Peace Commission was also constituted and that's the structure; full time judges and advocates are employed by the commission and their job is to investigate. They have the power vested in them by the Control of Violence and Intimidation Act of 1991 and that makes them a powerful body indeed to investigate and to report back.

[Smythe] Now the dispute resolution committees and councils, those you say are in place in some instances, but the justices of the peace to run those committees: What about them?

[Hall] Well, there are no justices of the peace established yet. I mean, that's going to take a certain amount of time. But I think the most important thing for the public is that the administrative office of the Peace Secretariat is now established. There is a permanent staff of up to 15 people and they are ready to move into action now that the secretariat is constituted and the JP's [expansion unknown] and the committees are going to follow suit as quickly as they possibly can. It's important that the communities themselves come forward to become part of the overall structure.

[Smythe] Would you not say though, Mr. Hall, that a lot of this surely should have been sorted out before the accord was actually signed; that these people should have

been in place; that these structures should have been sort of put together at least on a certain footing before the accord was signed, because it is a natural thing, particularly with a life and death situation, that people's expectations are that high?

[Hall] Yes, well when you look at those film cuts ad you see the sheer horror of the violence in this country it's the highest priority to get these structures in place and there's no argument with that. But we're also in the consensus business. The accord demands consensus and when you have various political parties involved, arriving at consensus, I think that the work that's been done, the success that's been achieved today is really quite impressive.

[Smythe] What success would you say has been achieved so far?

[Hall] Well, getting the consensus of the political parties and the appointment of various people to these bodies.

[Smythe] That has been the main problem has it? Actually getting the names agreed on.

[Hall] Yes, I think in any political process there's an amount of debate among the constituencies of the players of the accord and that's taken time.

[Smythe] Who would you say, I mean, have there been problems with specific parties, government for example?

[Hall] I think everybody has had a comment about the other chap's nomination. The Peace Committee did of course put up a whole list of names that were approved but there have been some modifications, some additions and everytime there is an addition another two days are wasted. So, I personally was furious with the delays.

[Smythe] And who was the main culprit there in dragging their feet?

[Hall] I'm in a diplomatic role here.

[Smythe] Come on Mr. Hall. Give us some idea.

[Hall] No, nobody was willfully dragging their feet. I mean, the amount of negotiation over many, many hours. If I tell you that telephone conversations were going on until the early hours of the morning with everybody aware of the urgency of getting these names accepted. But in the case of the Peace Commission, if there was a nomination that wasn't accepted by everybody the Peace Commission would lose its legitimacy and would not be able to operate effectively. So to have a solid foundation to the structures is important, and the fact that it's been delayed by, I said 10 days some time ago, it's taken a few days longer than that. But it's in place now and it's ready to move.

[Smythe] We saw the police moving around the townships in that little piece of film, and of course they have been accused of—as we saw also, by Mr. Mandela—of being

involved very much, in the violence; and accusations of a Third Force continue. Has that been discussed?

[Hall] Well, that's going to be the role of the Peace Commission that will be empowered to investigate those kind of complaints. Those complaints themselves infringe the Peace Accord, and complaints that the police are constituting a Third Force will be thoroughly investigated by the commission that has the powers of investigation.

[Smythe] What about the up-coming COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]-proposed anti-VAT [value-added tax] strikes on 4 November, a situation which could lead to intimidation and possibly some violence? Does this not, in your opinion, contravene the terms of the document? What are your feelings on this?

[Hall] Well, not to comment on the merits or demerits of VAT, but the people who are organizing the strikes have in fact committed themselves to the Peace Accord, and clearly must abide by the provisions of the accord, and mass marches, and strikes, and so on. They have committed themselves to that. Personally, I rely on them to honor their commitment, which I'm sure they will.

[Smythe] But you're dealing here with mass and mob sort of situation, which can lead to a great deal of violence if it gets out of control. What sort of control do...[changes thought] As you said earlier on, you know, the power of the leaders—it's not easy just to say: Don't commit violence.

[Hall] Well, there won't be nationwide strikes. I mean, if it is nationwide, the leaders in the communities will have to make sure that the communities are protected. It will be regional community leaders that have to ensure that the accord is adhered to.

[Smythe] How is that going to happen? How is that sort of public relations effort going to be coordinated at grassroots level?

[Hall] Well, again, by 4 and 5 November, when the strikes are due to take place, the regional community conflict resolution committees certainly won't be in place. Some of them will, particularly in the flash-point areas. Again, that will have to be coordinated by the peace secretariat, to use all their powers to invoke the aid of the signatories to the accord, who will be very active at grassroot level.

[Smythe] So you have some kind of advertising campaign, or some kind of promotional...

[Hall, interrupting] Well, the Publication and Communications Committee is being constituted. Thousands of accords will be printed, posters, abbreviated accords in all the various languages of South Africa, will all be coming off the printing presses in the very near future. The media will be involved. There's a very large budget of several million rands for this. As I say, as we get into

our stride, I think the effectiveness of the whole process is going to become apparent to the public.

[Smythe] You're confident?

[Hall] I'm very confident. One has to be, and certainly we're all committing ourselves to this Peace Accord, as the leaders are. And they've really got to set the example from the top. If the people down below don't see their commitment in their actions, then we're going to have trouble.

[Smythe] Thank you, Mr. Hall. Thank you very much for joining us on the show tonight.

[Hall] A pleasure, Penny.

Members of Commission on Violence Named

MB2410172491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1717 GMT 24 Oct 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: SA [South African] Communication Service: "Press Statement by the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk"]

[Text] After consultation relating to the composition of the commission of enquiry concerning the prevention of public violence and intimidation, I am now in the position to make an announcement about it.

The honourable Mr Justice R.J. Goldstone of the Appellate Division has agreed to accept appointment as chairman of the commission. Its other members are:

—Advocate Niel Rossouw, SC [senior counsel] (vice-chairman)—Miss Lilian Gugu Baqwa—Advocate M.N.S. Sithole—Mr Gert Steyn

In terms of the act, the five members of the commission are appointed for a term of three years.

The commission will be assisted by officials of the Department of Justice.

The commission, which has been instituted in terms of Act 139 of 1991, is supported by the peace accord which was signed on 14 September 1991 by a large number of political and other community leaders.

The commission may:

- appoint committees to assist it in the execution of its duties and investigations;
- make use of institutes for the purpose of providing it with research, information and advice;
- make recommendations to me on the general policy to be followed in respect of the prevention of public violence and intimidation and other related matters;
- investigate the incidence, occurrence and prevention of public violence and intimidation, as well as any other matter which I or any member of the public may refer to it in this connection.

In respect of the latter authorisation, I wish to refer to what I said about it in a press statement on 30 July 1991, and I quote:

"As soon as the commission is functioning, I will be prepared to use my powers in terms of the act concerned to have concrete allegations of security force involvement in violence investigated.

"However, the investigation of rumours is to no avail. Therefore, I wish to issue a personal invitation to everyone who may dispose of such concrete evidence to come forward."

Issued by the Office of the State President Pretoria 24 October 1991.

ANC: Political 'Bloodletting' 'National Tragedy'

MB2410163091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1620 GMT 24 Oct 91

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 24 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] has called a protest for Saturday at Johannesburg's police headquarters to highlight deaths in detention, including that of black consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Announcing the decision at the end of a three-day National Executive Committee [NEC] meeting on Thursday, the ANC demanded President F.W. de Klerk act to halt political violence that has killed about 50 people in five days.

"This bloodletting has reached the proportions of a national tragedy," ANC NEC member Ronnie Kasrils told a news conference in Johannesburg.

He said this against a background of the portrait of Steve Biko—of the rival Black Consciousness Movement—on a banner of the African National Congress.

The legendary Biko died at John Vorster Square in 1977.

The one-hour vigil and picket demonstration at John Vorster Square has been scheduled for noon.

Saturday is the 20 anniversary of the death in detention of Ahmed Timol, a 30-year-old teacher and activist arrested in connection with the distribution of ANC and Communist Party propaganda. The ANC said he was the 19th person to die in custody since 1963.

Authorities said he had jumped to his death from the 10th floor of the police headquarters, a finding disputed by the ANC.

"It was the contention of our movement then, as it is now, that the security police were responsible for his death," Mr Kasrils said. Since his death, he added, over 80 people had died in custody.

This year six activists had died in detention, he said, adding the latest victim, a teacher, died on October 14.

"It is clear that the police continue to be a law unto themselves and that no detainee is protected against torture," Mr Kasrils said.

At its three-day meeting, the NEC discussed "the current political situation," among other issues. Spokesman Saki Macozoma declined to divulge details.

The ANC said vigils would also be held at police stations nationwide and other activities would include prayers in mosques on Friday and a political rally in Azaadville on Sunday.

Appearing at the conference, the wife of one of the men who died in detention delivered an impassioned plea that the inquest into his death be reopened.

"What I would like to see is that justice must be done. All we did was to fight apartheid, because we did not want apartheid," said Mrs Rita Ndzanga.

The ANC said 1500 people "apart from selective assassinations" had been killed since July this year "by vigilantes" on the Reef and in Natal. Unofficially more than 200 people have died since September 14 when a National Peace Accord took effect in a bid to curb violence.

"This is all part of a pattern of undeclared war waged to prevent the liberation movement from achieving the goal of a democratic non-racial South Africa," Mr Macozoma told the news conference.

"We are demanding from President de Klerk and his regime that all killings of our people must stop immediately," he added.

In other announcements, the ANC backed the general strike scheduled for November 4 and 5 in protest against the implementation of value added tax (VAT).

It also said it would mount a national and international campaign for the release of political prisoners including those jailed in Bophuthatswana. It did not specify the nature of the campaign.

"The ANC leadership shall vigorously pursue the matter of the continued imprisonment of these patriots and shall not rest until their release has been secure," Mr Macozoma said.

ANC Welcomes Police, Commuter Talks on Safety

*MB2410164691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1630 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: African National Congress [ANC]: "Re: meeting between South African Commuter Association [SACA] and the police"]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region welcomes

the meeting between the police and South African Commuter Association (SACA). We believe the meeting is long overdue particularly in the light of the escalating violence in the trains.

However, the meeting will be fruitless if the issue of sufficient security measures is not addressed. As far as we are concerned it is no excuse that the police do not have sufficient police to keep an eye on every train. The police must find ways and means to address this situation.

For months our people have been subjects of attacks, which are a direct result of insufficient measures adopted by the police. The attackers have actually exploited this situation.

The ANC further wishes to deny that any member of our organisation is under a command to attack members of other political organisations found on commuter trains. We therefore distance ourselves from any acts of hooliganism perpetrated against the people. It is therefore a lie that members of our organisation attacked members of a certain political organisation either on Tuesday or Wednesday.

The truth of the matter is that commuters irrespective of their political affiliation were waylaid in attacks on different railway stations. The attacks executed with military precision could only be the work of professional killers. The attackers emerged from the Nancefield Hostel.

For us we remain committed to the National Peace Accord and political co-existence and we appeal to all other political organisations to do likewise. Issued by the ANC PWV Region Media Department 1991-10-24

Freedom Charter Officially ANC Economic Guide

*MB2210114591 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
22 Oct 91 p 20*

[By Patrick Laurence: "Freedom Charter is ANC [African National Congress] Beacon"]

[Text] Whenever African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela talks of nationalisation, South Africa's business moguls either accuse him of "regressing" to economic infancy or of succumbing to the machinations of the South African Communist Party.

From their perspective, and that of the whites generally, the position is both worse and better than that.

Official ANC economic policy advocates the transfer of mineral wealth, banks and "monopoly industry" to "ownership of the people" and the redistribution of the land among "those who work it".

It is set out in two short paragraphs in the Freedom Charter, adopted as long ago as June 1955, more than three decades before socialism and nationalisation were discredited by the collapse of the communism and command economies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Thus, when Mr Mandela states that nationalisation of the mines, banks and "monopoly industry" is ANC

policy, he is not suffering from an aberration induced by fatigue or complying with dictates of a communist cabal within the ANC.

His dramatic commitment to nationalisation, in a letter smuggled out of prison via the "people's post" shortly before his release in February 1990, was a reaffirmation of the Freedom Charter. So, too, was his re-endorsement of nationalisation in the Western Cape last month.

It is instructive to note that no resolutions were passed on economic policy at the ANC's annual conference in Durban in July, and that the Freedom Charter still stands as a cardinal document.

It is, therefore, pertinent to recall the key sentences in the Charter: "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the bank and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole...all the land (shall be) re-divided amongst those who work it."

But, if the Freedom Charter represents the worst-case scenario for South African capitalism, there is a more positive vista for capitalists to contemplate.

The ANC, while still adhering officially to the Freedom Charter, is engaged in a vigorous debate about its future economic policy. The decision to prolong the debate instead of settling it at the July conference testifies to the intensity of the discourse.

The ANC's new policy directions are contained in a short position paper entitled "Draft Resolution on ANC Economic Policy". Adopted in May as a draft policy document by the ANC's Department of Economic Policy, it is the product of several seminars, stretching back over many months.

The manifesto contradicts the boardroom view that the ANC's economic policies are determined by doctrinaire Marxists who refuse to either acknowledge or learn from the crisis of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

It declares that the ANC is in favour of a "mixed economy", explaining: "We are convinced that neither a commandist central planning system nor an unfettered free market system can provide adequate solutions to the problems confronting us."

One of those problems is the inequality of income and wealth in South Africa because of—to paraphrase the ANC manifesto—the "systematic economic exploitation and oppression of black people". Another is concentration of the "vast bulk of productive assets" in a few white hands.

"The overriding objective," writes Professor Laurence Harris of the School of Oriental and African Studies, who has worked with ANC economists, "is to raise black living standards and reduce dramatically the great inequalities that exists".

But there is greater flexibility about the means to attain that end. Nationalisation of some sectors of the economy is mooted as a possible method. It is not accorded the status of a panacea.

The foment within the ANC over its future economic policy—there are still forces within its ranks who favour extensive nationalisation—forms the background to Mr Mandela's statement to financial notables in May last year.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken," Mr Mandela said. He refused, however, to rule out nationalisation all together.

The ANC leader took a firm stand against the privatisation of the huge parastatals which, until recently, were owned by the State and which were used to empower Afrikaners economically.

The ANC's commitment to debate on nationalisation is reflected in the columns of its journal, MAYIBUYE. It has stated the pro and cons of the policy and invited its readers to contribute to the discussion. "All of us must take part in drawing up economic policy," it says.

ANC economic policy is relatively fluid at the moment. Its fluidity is one explanation for the apparent oscillation in ANC economic pronouncements. Its parameters allow for a certain latitude.

When Mr Mandela re-states Freedom Charter policy, he may be reminding the financial barons about the deprived black community and, as the ANC has put it, about South Africa's socio-economic imbalances.

He may, however, be prompted by another consideration: the perceived intransigence of the financial establishment and a desire to remind it of the ANC's iron fist and its commitment to readdressing the disparities wrought by decades of race discrimination. The same explanations seem to hold for the recent warning by ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa that a democratic government would "not be keen" to honour international loans raised by the present white Government.

Mr Ramaphosa's statements may have had another political motive: to sustain the investment boycott of South Africa until the advent of a more representative government.

The most recent controversy over a wealth tax, precipitated by the suggestion of a member of the ANC at

conference, must be seen in the same general light. It is linked to the ANC's continuing search for ways and means of addressing the inequity in wealth.

The financial establishment should heed a warning from Mr Ramaphosa. Over-reaction to these and similar ideas by the financial magnates and their ideological supporters gives them greater credibility among ANC members.

The indignation of the financial establishment triggers a predictable response in ANC ranks: "If it is bad for them, it must be good for us." It may thus tip the balance within the ANC towards radicalism.

Against that, however, apparent contradiction and confusion in ANC policy may well precipitate an exodus of white capital and skills and delay, if not block, the desperately needed infusion of investment capital. Either development could be disastrous for ANC hopes of engineering a substantial upliftment in black living standards.

COSATU Official on Nationalization, Socialism

*MB1910191091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1900 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 19 SAPA—Nationalisation was a legitimate weapon to change the legacy of apartheid capitalism, the second vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU], Mr Godfrey Oliphant, said in Johannesburg on Saturday.

He was addressing the Third National Education Conference.

Socialism was not a dream, he added, but it allowed workers to gain control over the means of production.

The real cause of South Africa's economic problems was not sanctions, but apartheid capitalism—capital's determination to derive maximum profit through automation, and its desire to protect white minority interest.

"Workers in this country have been victims of economic enslavement for decades. We must not allow the capitalist to get away any longer with these economic crimes against the workers," Mr Oliphant said.

"Socialism is not a dream but about empowering democratic worker control over the means of production. In this regard we should not shy away from nationalisation as it is a legitimate weapon to address the legacy of apartheid capitalism," Mr Oliphant argued.

"We must educate the entire masses about democratic socialism," he added. "It is our duty to point out the distortions of the Eastern Europe type of socialism. Obviously, socialism without democracy is doomed to failure, and so is democracy without socialism."

Mr Oliphant said people should not forget that apartheid was still in place, and that the government's reforms had taken place within the apartheid system of oppression and economic exploitation.

He accused the government of attempting to impose its political and economic programmes on the people without their approval.

"The government should resign now and give way to an interim government which should pave the way to a credible constituent assembly," he demanded.

Next month's general strike was, therefore, not only to protest against VAT [value-added tax], but also in support of demands for an interim government and for the restructuring of the economy.

Both the SA [South African] Communist Party and the African National Congress had agreed to this approach. Mr Oliphant said of the giant trade union federation's allies.

The COSATU leader also accused the government of orchestrating the current political violence for its own "selfish interests".

Minister Criticizes Nationalization Proposals

*MB2310071891 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 22 Oct 91*

[Text] Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk says the future of agriculture in South Africa lies in free market principles and not in protectionism and socialism.

Opening the annual congress of the South African Agricultural Union in Durban, Dr. van Niekerk attacked recent statements on redistribution and nationalization.

[Begin Van Niekerk video recording in Afrikaans] In a world where successful agriculture is practiced, that is, in the provision of sufficient food for the population, there is no nationalization, confiscation or socialism; these destroy. Man together with the soil does not provide food. It is the expertise and the know how of the agriculturalist in producing and making profits which is important. [end recording]

COSATU Statement Outlines General Strike Actions

*MB2410145091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1340 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU], Thursday, 24 October 1991: "Countdown to the General Strike"]

[Text] Anti-VAT [value-added tax] mass action is sweeping our country at present. The general strike on 4-5 November initiated by COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], NACTU [National Council of Trade Unions] and 12 other trade unions who are part of

the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT, is receiving the support of increasing numbers of other organisations.

All the major political organisations—the ANC [African National Congress], PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] and SACP [South African Communist Party]—have supported the general strike and urged their members to mobilise for the strike. The general strike will also be on the agenda of the Patriotic Front conference this weekend.

The major black business federations, Nafcoc [National African Federated Chambers of Commerce] and Fabcos [Federation of African Business and Consumer Services] have indicated their support for the strike and will be calling on their members to close their shops in the townships between 11 am and 3 pm on both days of the strike.

The taxi association, SABTA [South African Bus and Taxi Association] has already circularised their members asking them only to transport students and essential service workers during the days of the strike. Regional and local meetings are also being held to finalise details to enable students to be transported.

Nationwide, COSATU and NACTU are holding rallies, mass meetings, pickets, marches and industrial demonstrations, expected to involve hundreds of thousands of workers, as part of the build up to the November 4th and 5th general strike. Below is a partial list of events organised by the unions. Further details will be realised as soon as they become known.

27 October Rallies

At least 8 rallies will be held around the country this weekend focussing on the general strike. This follows a number of rallies last weekend in northern Natal and eastern Transvaal.

COSATU office bearers will be addressing some of the rallies to be held this weekend. Our assistant general secretary, Sam Shilowa will be speaking at an anti-VAT rally together with Allan Boesak in Cape Town on Sunday 27 October. COSATU vice president, Chris Dlamini will be addressing a similar rally in Pietersburg. This rally has been initiated by our new affiliate, Northern Transvaal Public Servants Union.

On Sunday 27 October, COSATU western Transvaal region has organised four rallies—in Sebokeng, Carltonville, Klerksdorp and Lichtenburg. The eastern Transvaal region has organised two rallies—one in Ermelo and one in Standerton.

These rallies follow numerous joint shop steward councils between COSATU, NACTU and other unions supporting the strike.

Pickets

Today pickets took place outside the office of the Receiver of Revenue in Witbank, Standerton, and Nelspruit. Approximately 200 picketers, including Cosatu regional secretary, J.J. Mabena were arrested in Standerton.

A lunch-hour picket will be held tomorrow at the Receiver of Revenue in Pretoria and at Barend du Plessis' offices. Further pickets will take place on Saturday 26 October in Pretoria at Strijdom Plein and Church Square. On November 2 women will picket again at Strijdom Plein.

Industrial Area and Factory Demonstrations

Demonstrations were held in workplaces in northern Natal yesterday and on October 22.

A number of industrial area and factory demonstrations are planned in the next 10 days. Today and on October 29 demonstrations and pickets will be held in the Wits [Witwatersrand] region in factories and industrial areas.

Workers in the northern Transvaal region will be staging factory demonstrations from October 28 until November 1st. Overtime will be suspended on these dates.

In the same period, western Cape will be holding industrial area pickets and marches.

Marches—2nd November

There have been marches in 26 centres around South Africa including places as far flung as Upington, Koksstad, Pinetown and Graaff Reinet, involving tens of thousands of workers. Further marches will be held on Saturday 2nd November.

COSATU women's structures have also decided to focus on the VAT campaign since it is women who have to bear the brunt of high prices. Women's marches will be held in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg on Saturday 2nd November.

A march will be held for the first time in a long time in Empangeni, northern Natal on 2nd November. Previous marches have been prevented due to the threat of violence. Last week marches were held in Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg.

The anti-VAT coalition in eastern Cape has organised a march in Port Elizabeth on November 2.

November 4 and 5

In our strike call, COSATU and NACTU have called for an "active general strike". This has led many local areas to plan marches, pickets and rallies in local areas during the days of the action. In the Wits region, there will be marches in various residential areas on these days. Decentralised marches will also take place in the western Cape. Details are still being awaited from other regions.

Guidelines on the general strike will be issued early next week.

MK Chief of Staff Hani To Remain in Position

*MB2510104891 Johannesburg SABA in English
0827 GMT 25 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 24 SABA—The ANC [African National Congress] announced its chief of staff of Umkhonto We Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK] Chris Hani, will retain his position in the organisation, SABC radio news reports.

ANC spokesman Saki Macazoma said at a news conference in Johannesburg that the SA [South African] Communist Party had withdrawn a request that he be transferred.

Reportage on Conservative Party Cape Congress

'Koos-Document' 'Overwhelmingly' Buried

*MB1910075891 Johannesburg SABA in English
2301 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Kimberley Oct 18 SABA—The Cape congress of the Conservative Party [CP] on Friday voted overwhelmingly to bury the whole issue of the so-called Koos-Document which advocated the party's participation in the reform process, reports SABC radio news.

At its annual meeting in Kimberley, delegates called for the matter to be cleared up once and for all, even if it meant renouncing the man responsible for the document, the party's former information chief Koos van der Merwe.

Delegates said the leak of the document had caused serious confusion within CP ranks.

The Cape chairman of the CP and MP for Kuruman, Mr Jan Hoon, said the document had been totally rejected by the CP and was an issue of the past.

Mr Hoon said the party had tightened up its procedures and control surrounding the release of party information, and he gave the assurance that such an incident would not happen again.

Church Leaders Criticized

*MB1910085891 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
0500 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, says the fact that certain theologians have declared apartheid a heresy does not affect the existence of the party.

Addressing the Cape Congress of the party in Kimberley, Dr. Treurnicht said the church leaders concerned judged only one policy but failed to condemn, what he called, fraternization of the government and the ANC [African National Congress], and the Communist Party [South African Communist Party—SACP].

Turning to proposed legislation to restrict gun ownership Dr. Treurnicht said such a step would not stop the murder of whites. He said that if accepted, the proposals would endanger the security of whites.

Right-Wing Political Alliance Rejected

*MB1910133891 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1100 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Text] The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, has rejected the idea of a right-wing political alliance in future elections.

Speaking at the CP's Cape Congress in Kimberley Dr. Treurnicht said such an alliance was not practical. He said there had to be right-wing political unity under the banner of the CP. Dr. Treurnicht also rejected delegates' calls for a more militant approach to the CP's demands for a general election. He said the CP had to pursue constitutional means for as long as possible, whether through an election or a referendum. He added that the CP would never join the negotiations for a new dispensation.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, says the party would be enabled to force a general election by not taking part in the negotiation process [sentence as heard]. Dr. Hartzenberg said the CP would turn to violence if all democratic ways were closed.

He said other circumstances in which violence was justified would be the installation of an interim government without the CP being consulted, or the president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, ruling over the Afrikaners.

Treurnicht Urges White Unity

*MB1910192691 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1800 GMT 19 Oct 91*

[Excerpts] Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht has invited the government to work with the CP towards white unity and an own fatherland. Speaking at the Cape congress of the party in Kimberley today, Dr. Treurnicht also called for whites to be given the right to govern themselves in their own country. In a message of goodwill to other communities he said the CP would support and help defend their legitimate right. At the opening of the congress last night Dr. Treurnicht said the CP would continue to be relevant in South Africa.

[Begin recording] [Treurnicht] And as long as there is a strong English-speaking community with a strong sense of identity, patriotism and national freedom, will the CP remain relevant and politically indispensable in South Africa. [passage omitted]

[SABC reporter Ossie Gibson] Speakers rejected the notion of an interim government. They said as long as

there was a chance of constitutional change by way of election or referendum, that would be their option. But Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg warned Mr. Nelson Mandela that if he came to power with the help of a government which had betrayed the whites, he would never know peace. He said that the CP would have to be consulted before an interim government was installed. If all democratic routes had been closed, violence would be used to prevent domination. Speakers from the floor pointed out that partition to achieve a white fatherland would need a determined effort and that it would be expensive. [end recording]

Conservatives United Against Constitutional Talks

*MB2310212691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2032 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Pretoria Oct 23 SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] was united in its rejection of invitations to participate in negotiations for a new constitution and warned that if they could not achieve the freedom of its people through constitutional means they would do so in other ways.

This warning was sounded by the chief secretary of the party, Mr Andries Beyers on Wednesday.

Mr Beyers was speaking at a public meeting in Pretoria held to honour him for not revealing a source who had implicated National Intelligence Service involvement in the kidnapping of a witness in the Winnie Mandela trial.

Mr Beyers was jailed for 14 days in September for refusing to reveal the source.

At the meeting he denied reports that the CP was divided over the issue of not participating in negotiations.

"Naturally it is not true. I don't even have to emphasise this.

"The CP will not participate in negotiations now or at any other time in the future where the loss of the people's freedom is on the agenda."

The CP was not against negotiations but if other nations wanted to negotiate with them they would have to recognise the peoples right to self determination and freedom.

Mr Beyers said the CP demanded a general election now as it was the only constitutional means at its disposal to guarantee the freedom of its people.

"If the government does not call an election now they are forcing us to do so unconstitutionally. We will do this."

He warned that there would be no peace in South Africa as long as his people were suppressed.

If necessary the CP would settle for a smaller fatherland which was its own rather than the whole country which would be administered by a black government.

"The CP says its fatherland is that which is known as South Africa," he hastened to add.

Referring to proposed legislation which Mr Beyers said would limit each person to the possession of one gun only, he warned the government to keep its "paws" off their guns. "These guns might hurt you."

On a lighter note Mr Beyers said that while in jail he had thought he would like to see some members of the National Party in jail rather than the criminals who resided there.

In a "friendly warning" to State President Mr F.W. de Klerk he said that Ventersdorp would not be the last time Mr de Klerk would ride in the back of a police van.

Mr Beyers said he would not forget that Mr de Klerk had refused to grant him parole.

The meeting, which was held in the Pretoria City Hall, was attended by several CP members of Parliament as well as the leader and deputy leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

About 500 members of the public were present.

Transkei Role in Constitutional Process Viewed

Holomisa Meets Government Ministers

*MB1810143091 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1400 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Transkei's military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, has held meetings with two South African cabinet ministers today.

Holomisa met Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen to talk about future constitutional developments, and relations between Transkei and South Africa.

Holomisa also met Foreign Minister Pik Botha, but details of the meeting have not yet been released.

'Vital Interest' in Process Stated

*MB1910080491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2105 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Pretoria Oct 18 SAPA—Transkei has a vital interest in the future constitutional scenario in South Africa [RSA], particularly the impending negotiations.

This emerged in a statement released after meetings in Pretoria on Friday between Transkei leader, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Ministers Pik Botha and Gerrit Viljoen.

The talks, which were held at the insistence of the homeland's government, discussed "matters of mutual concern".

"The meeting with Dr Viljoen dealt primarily with future constitutional developments in the RSA and future constitutional relations between Transkei and South Africa," the statement said.

"Constructive suggestions were made at the meeting and there was general consensus that discussions on these matters are always essential to clear up any misunderstandings.

"It is only through such contacts that trust can be built," the statement concluded.

Conference Called 'To Prepare'

*MB1910080891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2202 GMT 18 Oct 91*

[Text] Umtata Oct 18 SAPA—Military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has called a conference to "prepare" Transkeians for constitutional talks in South Africa.

"In pursuance of its policy of consultation the Transkei government has now resolved that a broadly representative conference be convened in order to prepare for the forthcoming all-party conference," he said in a statement.

The South African Government and other political and community organisations will be invited to send representatives to the November 7-9 conference, Gen Holomisa said.

Focus of Conference Outlined

*MB2410081491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[Text] The Transkei government is to host a 3-day conference early next month to discuss its constitutional future in preparation for an all-party conference.

A statement from the Transkei government says the meeting is to be held from 7 to 9 November and will focus on the all-party conference, the establishment of an interim government, the possible implementation of transitional arrangements and the establishment of a constituent assembly.

The statement says a wide range of organizations will be invited, including the South African Government.

Bophuthatswana To Resist Destabilizing Attempts

*MB2410144091 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1115 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] The minister of defense of the southern African state of Bophuthatswana, Rowan Cronje, says the Defense Force will resist any attempt at destabilizing the state. This follows allegations that the ANC [African National Congress] intends making Bophuthatswana ungovernable.

[Begin Cronje recording] My concern—I refer to a poster that has been circularized by the ANC Youth League, the organization which a few weeks ago signed the Peace Accord in Johannesburg—saying straightforward: Let us make Bophuthatswana ungovernable. When we act against such people we are called a police state. When we defend what we believe to be our democratic and free values, we are deemed to be an undemocratic and a police state. It's a strange way of arguing. It's a strange philosophy to us.

As I said, Bophuthatswana is an independent country. We want to make, as we have always said, a very constructive contribution to trying to establish freedom and democracy and equality in the whole of southern Africa, stability in the whole of southern Africa, and we will play our part. But we will do so by adhering to the values and principles in which we believe. And if I personally, or the country, or the government, is being criticized for that so be it, because if I'm criticized for the values and the principles which Bophuthatswana stands for, I'm happy to be criticized. And it will not deter us from our aims and our objectives. [end recording]

Buthelezi Rejects Redistribution of Wealth

*MB2510085891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0035 GMT 25 Oct 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 24 SAPA—Any post-apartheid government will have to face the political reality that there is not enough wealth in the country for redistribution, says Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) President Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"You cannot buy the satisfaction of the have-nots with all the wealth that there is among the haves."

Mr Buthelezi, who was speaking at his meeting on Thursday with the prime minister of Singapore, Mr Goh Chok Tong, said there was substantial agreement that the redistribution of wealth should not lead to the destruction of the productive capacity of the economy.

Market forces would have to operate and free enterprise would have to be the dominant driver in economic progress.

"This, however, does not mean that the redistribution of land, for example, cannot simply be giving land back to the people who have been dispossessed through apartheid."

Commenting on the irreversibility of political change in the country, Mr Buthelezi said the government could not do nothing unilaterally now. The political base on which its past "monolithic" powers rested, had been destroyed.

He added that an "institutionalised" South Africa would not tolerate any such action by the government, particularly if that action was retrogressive.

"The failure of the government to bring about change through constructive moves forward, would also spell doom for it in the white electorate."

The IFP was committed to change and would support anyone against any threat to the process of change towards an open, multi-party democracy.

"In this commitment, the IFP will stand with the ANC [African National Congress] or PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and whoever else to ensure that the government does not renege on its undertakings."

Mr Buthelezi warned the real threat to the negotiation process was to be found in the desire for political power. He saw the ideal as being one in which the majority that did form a government after apartheid, was a multi-party majority.

Political power, which was attractive to some, was a danger that should not be underestimated.

"We have in South Africa many neighbourhoods and communities in which the cult of tolerance for other political views does not exist. There is a cult of violence, bred by past political ideologies and by poverty in which people live."

These were difficult communities in which to undertake constituency work. Problem-solving mechanisms of society were in disrepair or absent, and it was here that political parties could be tempted to abuse the potential of the existing violence.

Curbing violence to make democracy possible, therefore meant dealing with poverty, Mr Buthelezi said.

"The extent to which we can deal with poverty will prescribe the extent to which we can proceed to establish a multi-party democracy."

Germany Interested in Strengthening Economic Ties

*MB2410092291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0858 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Pretoria Oct 24 SAPA—Germany was "very much interested" in strengthening economic ties with South Africa, the German minister of agriculture, food and forestry, Mr Ignaz Kiechle, said in a statement in Pretoria on Thursday.

The statement was released at the union buildings at the time of his meeting with President F W de Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Mr Kiechle said the favourable political and economic development of South Africa would have a positive

impact on neighbouring countries and hopefully be a driving force for stability in the region.

He said the purpose of his visit was to get an insight into the agricultural sector of South Africa.

"In the light of profound change that has taken place in the country and which the federal government welcomes, I attach particular importance to talks with the secretary-general of the ANC [African National Congress], Cyril Ramaphosa, and the ANC Land Commission."

Mr de Klerk said he had held in-depth discussion with Mr Kiechle about bilateral relations, which had always been good.

They had also exchanged information on the progress of German reunification and the economic challenges flowing from it.

Said Mr de Klerk: "I also gave him some indication of plans to improve agriculture in South Africa and broaden private property ownership through development schemes".

Mr Kiechle also said they had discussed the picture of the new world which was emerging.

"We no longer have Socialism and Communism but emphasise private ownership and property."

He said they had also discussed peace. "We fully agreed that peace was only possible with economic development.

"People can only live peacefully together if there is a sound economic basis."

Mr Kiechle said he had received "highly interesting answers" from Mr de Klerk on the question of African union.

Mr Kiechle will be meeting the South African agriculture minister, Dr Kraai van Niekerk, and representatives from black opposition groups, and from agricultural business and research organisations, before departing for Namibia on Sunday.

Savimbi Says RSA, Angola To Aid Development

*MB2510080291 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
0500 GMT 25 Oct 91*

[Text] South Africa [RSA] and Angola have the potential to become the engines of development in Southern Africa, provided there is peace in both countries.

That is the view of the leader of the Angolan UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, who was the guest speaker at a banquet of the Natal Chamber of Industries last night.

Dr. Savimbi said South Africa and Angola needed each other for economic progress to enable them to compete in the international arena. He said Angolan oil, South African technology and their combined mineral resources were a

winning combination. Dr. Savimbi encouraged South African businessmen to begin feasibility studies to determine investment possibilities in Angola.

24 Oct Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB2410121191

[Editorial Report]

THE CITIZEN

Paper Would Welcome 'Souring' of Government-ANC Relations—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 21 October in its page 6 editorial doesn't think President De Klerk "has to put up with Mr Mandela's outrageous suggestion that he has anything to do with a police 'killing machine'." "Nor does he have to put up with Mr Mandela's insults," because "Mandela tends to speak with forked tongue." "If the war of words means a souring of relations between the government and the ANC [African National Congress], it would not give us sleepless nights. Indeed, it would end what appears to have been a far too cosy relationship. Let the battle for the new South Africa begin now."

THE STAR

Violence Sucks Country Into 'Vortex of Destruction'—"The country is being sucked into a vortex of destruction," declares a page 32 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR. "Violence is our biggest problem." The editorial says two steps should be taken immediately. "The ANC and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] must hold joint rallies in Soweto to signal to their followers that, for them anyway, the season of killing has come to an end. Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi must publicly clasp hands. If there is a third force, it will be instantly exposed. Also, the National Peace Accord must be activated immediately, not behind the scenes but conspicuously, so that the peace-makers can be seen and believed."

BUSINESS DAY

'Carrot and Stick' Incentive To Ease Pollution—"We are not suddenly going to have clean air, clean rivers and clean beaches because the President's Council has come up with a wealth of recommendations on environmental management," points out Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 24 October in a page 10 editorial. "The process must sensibly be managed, as the President's Council recognises, by introducing penalties and incentives to increase the attraction of expensive cleaner processes, or decrease the lure of cheaper polluting ones. This combination of carrot and stick, paid for by consumers and taxpayers, may be the only way to escape horrific pollution levels."

Cautious Response Needed To Dismantling of Sanctions—A second editorial on the same page says exuberance at the continued dismantling of sanctions "should be tempered by the cautious response of international commerce so far to the political decisions to lift trade and investment embargoes." Although the United

States, the EC, the Commonwealth, and Japan have decided in principle to remove some of the barriers to contact with South Africa, "enabling decisions by governments have yet to be matched by firm orders, signed contracts and hard cash."

SOWETAN

Police Presence Needed on Trains, Platforms—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 24 October in a page 10 editorial says "action must be taken on the trains. The horrors which were inflicted on passengers at Nancefield [station] yesterday morning are just the latest in a long line of similar atrocities." "Surely a security presence can be established aboard peak-time trains in known danger areas. And surely it is time the police re-established a presence on station platforms."

CAPE TIMES

ANC 'Bungling' Damaging—"Fortunately, the ANC has now agreed that the Independent Development Trust should proceed with plans to raise a five-year, \$100-million bond overseas to aid housing, education and health programmes in South Africa," notes Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 18 October. "The organisation's bungling came close to sinking the project which is intended to benefit underprivileged blacks." "It is one thing for leading ANC figures to eventually rebut many of the suggestions and misunderstandings on financial matters arising from the rank and file of the organisation, but the damage remains palpable. Foreign business does not have to lend SA [South Africa] anything, nor does it have to operate here."

CITY PRESS

Commonwealth Lifting Sanctions Expected—Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 20 October in a page 12 editorial says the decision by the Commonwealth members to lift sanctions against South Africa "was expected." "Even ANC leader Nelson Mandela, on the eve of the summit, publicly admitted that sanctions were devastating the economy." But "we agree with the Commonwealth that much more needs to be done to completely dismantle the structures of apartheid. The government must urgently address the land issue and distribution of wealth."

WINDHOEK ADVERTISER

Nujoma Remarks Not Solution to Poverty—A page 10 editorial in Windhoek WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English on 19 October refers to President Sam Nujoma's remarks in Harare on the "entrenched poverty and misery of the Namibian majority" saying: the remedy "is

work, for we will not sustain Namibia and we will not bring it to better levels when conditions where your Government actively assists poverty, are allowed to continue unchecked." "Your Government has done nothing since it came to power 18 months ago to address the problem of poverty and something about the root causes of this malady that is eating like a cancer into our society. Instead, all you could do was shout and shriek at the past, and to blame the 'haves'. Be assured, Mr

President, that many of us who have a decent meal a day are also prepared to rise when you and your people enter slumberland in the second phase, or even the third, of a new dream." "It is well and good, Mr President, to capitalise on these conditions in order that the masses lend further support for the elections are coming and you must get a two-thirds majority for many schemes of which the country has heard nothing as yet, but they do not constitute, your Excellency, a solution!"

Angola

Dos Santos, Namibian President Nujoma Meet 24 Oct

MB2410203291 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 24 Oct 91

[“Excerpts” of statements by Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Lubango on 24 October]

[Text] The Namibian Government has clarified its stand regarding its aid to our country during the current democratization stage.

In Lubango today, Republic of Namibia President Sam Nujoma rejected as unfounded the accusation made by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, that the Angolan Government was exerting pressure on the Namibian Government not to allow its territory as a point of transit for the transportation of nonlethal equipment to Angola.

[Begin Nujoma recording in English with passage-by-passage translation to Portuguese] The Namibian Government was requested earlier by the People's Republic of Angola, RPA Government, in conformity with a UN decision, to help render food and other humanitarian aid to the Angolan people, including people in UNITA-controlled areas and all this [word indistinct] went through Namibia through [word indistinct] to Jamba and other areas. Should that humanitarian aid be needed in any part of Angola, whether it be bought in Namibia or go through Namibian territory, my government will authorize it. In terms of trade, we only have one trade route. It is the Namibia-RPA route through Oshakango, Namacunde, Xangongo, and the rest of the country. Thus, UNITA's claims are unfounded and untrue. [end recording]

Namibian President Sam Nujoma spent a few hours in Huila Province within the context of a working visit to our country. Following his talks with His Excellency Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, an agreement was signed that will help strengthen the mechanisms adopted last year for stronger bilateral cooperation.

At Lubango Airport, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos commented on the outcome of the talks:

[Begin dos Santos recording] The content of the agreement clearly shows that the two sides are willing to achieve the intended aims, notably to conduct a feasibility study on the construction of a hydroelectric dam on the Cunene River. There have been some differences regarding the location of the site for the dam. It has been decided, however, that its location would be defined in the wake of a feasibility study to be ordered by the two sides.

The idea is that [name indistinct] will in principle be the chosen site. We discussed a number of issues. Some were of a political nature. Others were of an economic nature.

Within the political context, we analyzed bilateral relations and exchanged information on the internal situation in Angola and Namibia. The Angolan side briefed its Namibian counterpart on the ongoing peace process under the terms of the Bicesse Accords. The Namibian side reported on its efforts to guarantee stability within the country and to hold by-elections next year. We analyzed issues that are of interest to southern Africa as a whole, notably the process of democratization in South Africa to abolish apartheid and to establish a legal state that will guarantee freedom and equal rights to all South African citizens. We have expressed concern about the slowness of the negotiation process with a view to a new constitution and the holding of elections in that country.

President Sam Nujoma kindly briefed us on the findings of the latest Commonwealth meeting, which he attended. In short, we discussed many issues of bilateral interest. Within the economic context, we analyzed and exchanged views on possibilities for cooperation in the fields of fisheries, trade, and so forth. We believe that this was a very positive visit. [end recording]

Prior to his meeting with Namibian President Sam Nujoma, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos met the assembly deputies and traditional rulers of Huila Province in Lubango City this morning. He briefed them on social, economic, and political affairs.

There are various economic projects underway in Huila Province and their completion is expected to occur within the next three months. The Angolan head of state said that that was an indication that the authorities of Huila Province were determined to improve social conditions.

The movement of people and goods was one of the problems raised at the meeting. The example that UNITA still occupies Caconda, Quilengues, and Chicomba Districts was also mentioned. The Angolan head of state described this problem as serious and added that, should it continue, it would endanger the extension of state administration to the whole country and, therefore, the registration of voters for election purposes.

The Angolan head of state and his delegation returned to Luanda earlier this evening, after Namibian President Sam Nujoma had flown back to Windhoek.

Dos Santos on Namibian Election Observers

MB2510081291 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Excerpt] In Lubango, Huila Province, yesterday, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos spoke of the possibility of independent observers, in particular Namibians, being involved in the free and democratic election process in Angola next year.

Speaking at a news conference shortly before leaving Lubango, Eduardo dos Santos said the inability of people to move about freely in any corner of the country could jeopardize the electoral process.

The Angolan head of state said the continued occupation of some districts by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] is hindering the spread of state administration over the national territory and this could in turn affect the electoral registration process.

In turn, Namibian President Sam Nujoma said his government was requested to provide food to Angola, including UNITA-controlled areas. [passage omitted]

Prisoners Released; Debate on Numbers, Importance

Official Comments on Release

*MB2010192491 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Text] Nine compatriots were released in Luanda yesterday and another 17 in Benguela, also yesterday, in accordance with the Angolan Government's unilateral decision to free some 600 prisoners of war.

The Angolan Government released its greatest number of prisoners in Namibe Province. A total of 550 National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, prisoners who were in the Benteaba, formerly Sao Nicolau, Penitentiary were freed during a ceremony held at that place yesterday. That ceremony was attended by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC, the Interior Ministry, and the Namibe Province government.

Cirilo Amaro, the Interior Ministry representative, spoke during the ceremony. He said that the government had decided to release all prisoners without any further formalities. He added he hoped UNITA would behave in a similar manner to allow all Angolan citizens to enjoy peace as well as political and ideological freedom.

Cirilo Amaro also noted that, now that the war is over, everyone's principal task is to help rebuild the country, which has been extensively devastated by the conflict between Angola's warring factions. He said that we must forget the past now. He also praised the ICRC for its role, adding its presence confirms the Angolan Government's commitment to peace in the country.

It should be noted that, as of today, the ICRC will be making trucks available to help ferry the prisoners to their homes in Huila, Cunene, Bie, Benguela, Huambo, and Moxico Provinces.

The prisoner release process is to be completed on 23 October with the release of compatriots detained in Bie, Moxico, and Malange Provinces.

UNITA, ICRC Differ on Number Released

*MB2310202291 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] There are differences of opinion between the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, and the Luanda office of the ICRC regarding

the number of government prisoners released by UNITA. Yesterday, General Paulo Mucanda Gato, UNITA's No. 2 within the Joint Political and Military Commission, said that his organization had freed 2,000 government prisoners.

(Esther Portman), deputy ICRC chief in Angola, says she is only aware of 600 prisoners who have been freed.

[Begin (Portman) recording] Well, it is a fact that some 600 registered prisoners have been freed in Jamba in the past few weeks. Some of them have come to Luanda. There is still a list of 250 prisoners awaiting to be taken from Jamba, including (?102) who were scheduled to come to Luanda.

Regarding the 2,000 or so prisoners, we are (?not aware) that they have been handed over to the ICRC. [end recording]

Asked to comment the ICRC's denial, Gen. Gato said:

[Begin recording] [Gato] We don't have jails in the bush. We cannot keep thousands of people in jail. People are free, and are available for questioning. We must arrange the necessary logistical facilities to transport the prisoners.

[Reporter] So, people have been handed over to the ICRC, instead of lists.

[Gato] People have been handed over to the ICRC. The ICRC might be preparing the lists.

[Reporter] The ICRC office in Luanda says it is not aware that those prisoners have been released.

[Gato] (?There) could have been communications problems between the ICRC office and the liberated areas [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Official: Release Number 'Baseless'

*MB2410195791 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[“Excerpts” of statement by Colonel Fernando da Piedade Nando, representative of the Angolan Government within the Joint Political and Military Commission; date and place not given]

[Text] Colonel Fernando da Piedade Nando, representing the Angolan Government within the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, has described as baseless the number of prisoners allegedly released by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA.

The Angolan Government representative rejected and described as contradictory the claims made by the deputy chief of the UNITA team to the CCPM that that organization had released 2,000 government prisoners.

[Begin Nando recording] [Words indistinct] prisoners that it (?must allow) the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC, to interview [words indistinct] the prisoners must be interviewed by the ICRC first and

then released. The prisoner release ceremonies must be held in the presence of representatives from both sides, observers, and ICRC officials. Thus, this unilateral action—if we can call it that—whereby UNITA released our prisoners, is not [words indistinct] because it does not offer any guarantees. Second, UNITA says that it has released some 2,000 people. We do not have any idea who those people are. It had been agreed that the other side should receive a list of the prisoners to be released prior to handing them over to the ICRC for interview purposes. [end recording]

Col. Fernando da Piedade Nando said that the names of 840 Angolan Government prisoners feature in UNITA's lists so far. Those people included men who described themselves as freed and belonging to Jamba's civilian population. Col. Nando has urged the Angolan and international communities to exert greater pressure. He called in particular on the families of those prisoners who are still in UNITA's hands to be active. He added that the initial method of simultaneous releases would be easier on both sides and more conducive to a much desired climate of peace.

[Begin Nando recording] Seeing that UNITA did not want that to happen, we went ahead and unilaterally released prisoners [words indistinct] obviously, we will use the correct mechanisms to insist on and demand that UNITA fulfill its obligations.

In addition, the Angolan and international communities, as well as the relatives of the prisoners, should also exert pressure on UNITA to comply with what we agreed on [words indistinct]. [end recording]

* Savimbi Welcomed in Various Cities

92AF0020A Paris LE MONDE in French 1 Oct 91 p 1,8

[Article by Frederic Fritscher, special correspondent in Angola: "Mr. Savimbi's Transformation"; first sentence is LE MONDE introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The former leader of the Angolan rebellion makes his entry into politics.

Luanda—Luanda was to have been the culmination of the official entry into politics of Jonas Savimbi, the president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), but the welcome given by Angola's capital city could be described as little more than warm. On Sunday, 29 September, several thousand people were on hand at the airport—fewer than in Huambo, Lubango, and Lobito.

Jonas Savimbi did not outdo President Dos Santos who, in June, managed to fill the Square of the First of May on returning from Lisbon where he had just signed the peace agreement ending more than 15 years of civil war. About 50,000 people turned out to hear him. Many had been brought in by bus or truck from the provinces. Some had even come from Jamba, the headquarters for UNITA in the country's remote southeastern region.

Mr. Savimbi spoke in very familiar terms: Without peace, "nothing" can be accomplished; peace is the task of "all" Angolans. And the supreme leader of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] pledged to cooperate with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the party in power, to maintain the peace process.

Mr. Savimbi also stated that in a country as rich as Angola, it is not "natural" for the population to be "so poor." The "fratricidal war does not explain everything," he said going on to present "the passing of governmental power from one party to another" as a way to end "corruption."

Repeating what he had said in the provinces, Mr. Savimbi asserted that cleavages along religious, tribal, racial, political and military lines are a thing of the past. In his view, "all Angolans are patriots" and should be motivated "to vote for those who are best able to govern Angola." The message is clear and the ambitions are out in the open.

And so, it is done! Jonas Savimbi has left his sanctuary in Jamba. For the first time in 15 years, the old lion is venturing far from his territory. He cuts a proud figure, strapped into an immaculate dark green combat uniform, his head encased in a red beret bearing the four stars of a generalissimo, a revolver at his hip, and a ivory-handled cane in his hand. Warm and courteous, he finds something to say to everyone, the right words for friends not seen in a long while. With constantly darting eyes, he sizes up his listeners without complacency.

Years of Deprivation

"I was right to start in the interior of the country, to take stock of things," he announces to some 20 journalists following him on his "march" to Luanda. In Huambo where he waged his last battle on 7 February 1986 before fleeing the MPLA's troops, he lashes out against the government that he holds responsible for the ruin of a city that was once the breadbasket of Angola. "The Huambo that I knew no longer exists. Incompetence has destroyed it," the Commandante laments, as if only one of the two sides had waged the fratricidal war.

It was from Johannesburg, South Africa, that the Freedom fighter (as the Americans called him) returned to Huambo. He flew back in a Fokker-100 made available to him by Houphouet-Boigny. At the exact moment the aircraft touched the ground of his native region, bolts of lightning, unleashed by an African storm, ripped through the sky without discouraging those who had been awaiting the return of the native son for hours.

Jonas Savimbi did not disappoint them. It was in front of them that he kicked off his presidential campaign. After all, that is what it is. After the signing of the peace agreement, he could no longer put off his political return. He would repeat the message in Lubango, Lobito, and finally, Luanda. "The war is over, and we scrupulously

honor the peace agreement. But UNITA is now operating as a political party in opposition to the government." Elections are scheduled to take place in September 1992. For Savimbi, there is no time to lose. Even though he enjoys a solid reputation in the south and in rural areas, he must still win over the north and the country's large cities.

He who boasts of having stood up to the Soviets and the Cubans does not miss a single opportunity to make his point. "Nothing was accomplished in the past 16 years. The government has nothing positive to show for itself," he likes to say here and there. The reigning party is accountable for its performance to a public that is weary after so many years of deprivation. Jonas Savimbi knows that and has therefore made it his central theme.

"Angolans are fed up. They want a change of government," explained Pastor Elias, the director of a school complex and an Adventist seminary in Huambo. It is true that the city and the surrounding region have always been in favor of UNITA. But the war did not spare the city. Electricity and running water are no longer available here. The roads are pitted and pot-holed, and the pool of available housing is nonexistent. The local officials of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) have great difficulty in finding lodging for the European doctors so direly needed by the population.

Lubango, farther to the West, escaped the deluge of gunfire. Canons may have roared in the surrounding areas, but in this old city where vacationing Portuguese colonists sought refuge from the heat and humidity at the height of summer, the only scars to be found are those left by time and a lack of upkeep. In the vacant lot behind the Pensao Ritz, a private hotel that does not offer the standing its name would indicate, hordes of children in tatters storm the hulks of two Soviet tanks that lie abandoned under the blossoms of jacaranda trees.

However, Lubango is fortunate to have been the responsibility for many years of Governor Lopo de Nascimento, a former prime minister, the MPLA's mastermind in the negotiations with UNITA. He is known as an administrator who is not indifferent to the lure of economic liberalism. The local businessmen appear to have prospered under his stewardship.

Jose Lelis, a distributor of building materials, says that "business is good" and appreciates the "total freedom" that "private entrepreneurs" now enjoy. His son left this year to study in the United States. There is Mr. Fernandes who runs six bakeries and the Huilapao, the only "with-it" bar and restaurant in town where, an exception to the widespread shortages, nothing is lacking. He arrived in Angola at the end of the Second World War, and like Jose Lelis, he speaks of communism and the government with an unmistakable hatred.

The two men are among the first to arrive at the function hall where Jonas Savimbi has convened the region's economic leaders. He talks favorably of economic liberalism to an audience already won over to his cause. "The public

sector must not intervene in economic activity," UNITA's leader declares. For him, "the development of a domestic free-market economy" is the indispensable condition for creating "profitable trade with other countries."

At each leg of his itinerary, the champion of the anti-communist struggle in Africa sounds the nationalistic chord: "Angola for the Angolans!" "We are here to guarantee you that our country will never again be run by foreigners," he tells workers in the coastal port of Lobito, the end of the Benguela railway line which crosses the country from east to west.

Savior and Demon

Lobito greeted "President Savimbi" with pandemonium. Several thousand staunch supporters and young people in search of distraction nearly ravaged the airport. The leader of UNITA was forced to cancel a speech. Counterdemonstrators sprang up here and there. Several hundred young people on Chinese bicycles and others perched on wheezing trucks rode through the streets of the city brandishing portraits of President Dos Santos and Angolan flags in the MPLA's colors.

At the entrance to the Grand Hotel, two young employees cannot hide their dismay. "It is incomprehensible. They come and go freely, and yet they killed our fathers and brothers." The future, however, does not look too gloomy to them. "Only illiterates and the lowest segments of the population support Savimbi. The educated know the harm this bandit had done to the country. Dos Santos will win the elections next year."

Savimbi and Dos Santos are either saviors or demons. The two men embody the bipolarization of political life here. The much-talked-about "third force" with a socio-democratic thrust that began to take shape after a multi-party system was proclaimed, is still unable to articulate its views, leaving without any hope those who feel no affinity with either UNITA or the new-style MPLA.

Jonas Savimbi acknowledges it: "The risks of friction are high where UNITA and the MPLA are firmly entrenched." For now, what seems more decisive for Savimbi than his step-by-step journey to Luanda is his meeting on 7 October in Washington with President Bush.

Madagascar

Renewed Violence Arouses 'Strong Feelings'

LD2410164691 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] THE reawakening of the violence in Madagascar: The army put down a demonstration by the Active Forces in the north of the country yesterday. This happened at Antsiranana, the northern point of the big island. The victims are sympathizers of the Active Forces, the coordinating committee of the Malagasy opposition. They were preparing to organize a mobilization against the government. Assane Diop:

[Diop] The incidents at Antsiranana, in other words Diego Suarez, have aroused strong feelings—according to various witness accounts the military fired on demonstrators using automatic weapons. The tolls are contradictory: Officially there are reported to have been four dead; the Active Forces, in other words, the coordinating committee of the Malagasy opposition, speak of 12 killed and 50 injured. [passage omitted]

On a political level the Diego Suarez violence could compromise the resumption of work in Antananarivo this Friday, Albert Zafy, the parallel prime minister of the government named by the opposition, told us. As a result the continuation of the strike action which has been paralyzing the big island for more than five months is to be expected. This continuation of the strike would moreover be justified, Albert Zafy told us, by the authorities' statement that they are unable to pay the civil servants' salaries for October since the state's coffers are empty. The only hope of putting an end to the political tension in Madagascar is the plan for a national conference and a referendum before the end of the year announced by the government and the opposition.

[Announcer] You were saying, Assane, that the opposition could postpone the date for the return to work scheduled for tomorrow, Friday, so what other means of action does it intend to adopt? We have the answer of the head of the parallel government, Albert Zafy, contacted by telephone a few minutes ago:

[Begin Zafy recording] The test of elections is still demanded by the people, and we are still working in that direction. Now, for some time we have thus envisaged holding a referendum on a constitutional text before the rainy season, in other words in December, and in November we are going to hold a fairly brief national conference because the texts already exist and we learned yesterday by means of a statement made to the press by Mr. Razanamasy that he is convening the national conference within the coming days, in other words in November. This was decided by joint agreement with all the parties present, both on Ratsiraka's side and on our side. [end recording]

Mauritius

Prime Minister on Change in Country Status

AB2310180591 Paris AFP in English
1704 GMT 91

PORT LOUIS, Oct 23 (AFP)—Mauritius is to become a republic next March 12, the 24th anniversary of its independence from Britain, Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth said on his return from the Commonwealth summit in Zimbabwe.

Sir Anerood said he had discussed the change with Queen Elizabeth, and that the island's legal system would retain the right to appeal to the British Privy Council.

New foreign minister Paul Berenger was named last year to be the first president, but now says he does not want the post. The republic would be largely based on the Indian model, and the president would have no executive powers.

Jugnauth's government failed last year to get republican legislation passed by parliament, despite broad agreement across the political spectrum, because of a row in his coalition. But since last month's general election, he has a crushing 59 seats to the opposition's seven to ensure the passage of measures for republican status, which were first presented in 1983.

Mozambique

Reaction to Rome Peace Protocol; Talks Continue

Government Negotiator Interviewed

MB2210081591 London BBC World Service in English
0430 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Interview with Armando Guebuza, minister of transportation and communications and leader of the Mozambican Government delegation to peace talks, in Rome, by Alice Martins on the "Network Africa" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] The two warring sides in Mozambique have tried to talk peace on seven separate occasions, but without success. The news this time, from the eighth attempt, is, we hear, encouraging.

In Rome, over the weekend, representatives of the Mozambique Government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels made a breakthrough, with, for the first time, some firm commitments being put down on paper.

The agreement set up the terms under which they will have to negotiate a complete end to their 16-year-old civil war. Alice Martins, spoke to one of the representatives from the Mozambican Government, Armando Guebuza. In fact, he is the chief negotiator. First, Alice asked him for the details of the agreement.

[Begin recording] [Guebuza] Basically, we decided we are going to use the dialogue and cooperation as a way to achieve peace in Mozambique and on the basis of that, our government made a commitment to abide by the terms of the protocols that are going to be established here. Renamo also made a commitment according to which they are not going to continue to use arms as a way to fight the government and it will abide by the laws of the state and also respect the conditions and guarantees that will be established in the accord.

[Martins] Can you give me some idea of what has caused this breakthrough?

[Guebuza] There is a growing movement against the continuation of the war and it has been always insisting

that we should stop the war and that peace should prevail and agreement should be achieved by government and Renamo. Besides that, there is also what we can call the international understanding of this problem.

[Martins] Is the involvement of the United States and of Portugal, for example, crucial to this latest agreement?

[Guebuza] Well?...[pauses] yes, the two have played a very important role, but, of course, we cannot put aside, the role and the involvement of the mediators also, that were able to bring back this document which had been rejected by Renamo and then made it be acceptable by both sides.

[Martins] Tell me a little bit about the mediators. What is it that they did that made the document which you rejected before, which jointly was rejected before, more attractive now?

[Guebuza] They got in touch, they established contact, direct contacts with Renamo, with Mr. Dhlakama in Malawi where they discussed about the documents, and the need of having this umbrella document. Later on, they came to Maputo and also talked to our government about it. So, this meeting was called again to take place in Rome and at the end of two weeks, we succeeded in agreeing on the terms of it.

[Martins] Now, that you have come to this level of agreement, do you think the decisions made in Rome are going to hold on the ground in Mozambique?

[Guebuza] Well, on our side, we are going to comply with those decisions and tomorrow we are starting to discuss another point of agenda which is the multiparty democracy and we are going to see there what will be the attitude of Renamo, whether it would be in conformity with the spirit and the letter of what we have signed last Friday [18 October].

[Martins] One of the clauses that Renamo has felt very strongly about is having an international body to register parties. Now, how does this issue stand at the moment?

[Guebuza] On the basis of this protocol that we have just approved the framework, that problem should be overcome, apparently.

[Martin] What is going to replace the international body that will satisfy both sides?

[Guebuza] On our side, we think that it would be the government, because the government is, of course, responsible for a country. But, understanding the need of Renamo feeling that we act without impartiality, we accept that an international body where government and Renamo would be present should supervise the application or the implementation of these decisions. [end recording]

President Chissano Discusses Protocol

MB2210121491 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1130 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Report on news conference by Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo with local reporters on 21 October—passages within quotations marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano gave a news conference to local journalists yesterday on the occasion of a protocol signed by the government and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] delegations in Rome on 18 October.

President Chissano described the protocol as an important agreement that would speed up the negotiating process with a view to establishing peace in Mozambique, inasmuch as it defines the fundamental principles that will henceforth guide the negotiating process.

The president pointed out however that a lot of patience will still be needed until the final objective—the establishment of peace—is achieved.

A lot of questions still surround the negotiating process and yesterday journalists asked the head of state to clarify some of them. The first question dealt with Point No. 1 of the signed protocol, which states that the government undertakes not to apply existing laws that may eventually contradict the protocols to be signed between the two parties.

Asked whether this undertaking would not create an unconstitutional situation or give the impression of a capitulation by the government, Joaquim Chissano said:

[Chissano] "We will act in accordance with our law and our institutions. So, as you see the protocol has been drafted in such a manner that it will come into effect after the signing of a general cease-fire accord. All necessary precautions must be taken to confirm the accord itself. The same situation arises when we sign accords with foreign countries."

"In this particular case it is not an accord with a foreign country. It is an internal arrangement within Mozambican society, which is aimed at achieving peace, harmony, and a sound social coexistence."

"Surely, our institutions will be able to express their views at the right time. As they expressed their views at the onset of the on-going dialogue, they will do the same when the situation becomes clear. I do not think that there will be a contradiction between what has been agreed upon and the Constitution. Should the protocols contain anything that contravenes our laws, we would certainly consider that aspect. The signing of such protocols would take that into account. The appropriate organs will air their views to make things legal. That is why in the second paragraph Renamo undertakes to act in accordance with existing laws."

"So, one has established this balance, which will form part of the negotiating process. First, we will take precautions. Before we sign the general cease-fire accord the assembly of the republic will debate the issue.

"It will not always be necessary to change clauses in the law because some of the issues involved will be of a temporary nature, purely referring to the transition period. After elections are held, the assembly of the republic will adopt a number of laws, including the accords. That will be an assembly elected under a multiparty system.

"As you have noticed, by that time our Constitution could be reviewed. Actually, the Constitution can be reviewed by the assembly at any time. Whereas the existing assembly adopted the current Constitution, it will have to have very strong reasons to review it. The talks could well give us strong reason to review the Constitution in case the accords to be signed contain any clause that contravenes the Constitution. I do not foresee that that will happen."

"In conclusion, therefore, let me make it clear that there is no capitulation on the part of the government because there is a balance mechanism. We have paragraphs 1, 2, and 4 here. Paragraph 4 of the protocol says: The protocols to be agreed upon in the course of these peace talks will be an integral part of the general peace accord; and they will come into force when the general peace accord is signed. Accordingly, this means that these protocols have taken into account the final objective—the signing of a cease-fire. There is equally a balance mechanism, as far as the Renamo undertaking is concerned."

[Announcer] Could the signing of this protocol be interpreted as Renamo's recognition, though indirect, of the Mozambican state's legality?

[Chissano] "I think this question would be best answered by Renamo itself. I would not like to interpret Renamo's stand regarding the protocol. We are happy with the protocol whether or not Renamo recognizes our legality. We are happy in that we have achieved our principal objective—that is to have all changes realized within the framework of order. This is what we have been insisting upon since we started. I am sure, you remember the 12-point principles that we issued. Our main objective throughout the process has been to achieve a consensus that would allow us to make peaceful, orderly changes in our country which would respect the wishes of our people. In brief, it has been our wish to carry out democratic changes."

"We usually say that democracy can only be brought through democratic means. Accordingly, our objective has been achieved, regardless of the interpretation that Renamo gives to the protocol. Renamo is in the best position to answer this question."

[Announcer] Following the signing of protocol in Rome on 18 October, can we expect a meeting between the president of the republic and the Renamo leader before the general peace accord.

[Chissano] "I think that a meeting between the president of the Republic of Mozambique and the president of Renamo would mean that the president of the republic would need to present a satisfactory report to the people. Accordingly, it would mean me going to meet with him and announce that we have peace on some date. If this is not the case, a meeting of this kind is senseless. I believe Renamo is aware of this. Accordingly, we must allow the negotiating process to move forward until we reach a point where a meeting between the president of the Republic and Renamo leader would be justifiable."

[Announcer] Would the signing of the protocol mean that the peace process is now irreversible?

[Chissano] "I think the peace negotiating process became irreversible from the time the two delegations began talks in Rome. Despite the fact that the talks were suspended for short or long periods, it was impossible for us to stop or not to move forward. Accordingly, the process will continue until we achieve the desired results. It is impossible for us to stop midway. Now, as to whether or not we shall continue to experience difficulties, my answer would be: Let us do our best to reduce the difficulties. We should always be ready to face whatever difficulties will emerge with courage and a lot of patience, as I have already pointed out above. Above all, we should always think about the Mozambican people who desire peace. We are all aware how our people desire peace. This should be our principal objective. The victory of this entire exercise should belong to the Mozambican people."

[Announcer] The possibility of contacts inside the country between the mediators and Renamo could not be used as a pretext for Renamo to carry out a political activity, side by side with its military action.

[Chissano] "If our delegation had thought that way, it would be viewed as a lack of trust. We want to negotiate on the basis of trust, and we demand the same from Renamo. With a mutual trust, I believe, we shall achieve our common objective which is to find a solution to peace. This is our objective. If there is dishonesty on Renamo's side, I think we have our people who are the best judges.

"All the same, I believe that No. 3, as well as the previous numbers demonstrate the level of our flexibility. All these questions raised here are not raised by chance. Whoever reads the protocol can clearly see our flexibility. I would not like, however, to ignore the flexibility demonstrated by the Renamo delegation on certain occasions. Likewise, I would not like to grade the levels of flexibility. All I want to say is that the flexibility demonstrated by our government is clearly visible in the document signed."

[Announcer] During the period between the signing of the general peace accord and the general elections, will the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, rule the country or will it be ruled, as it has been demanded by Renamo, by a coalition government, including a UN role.

[Chissano] "What the accord clearly states is as follows: In turn, Renamo undertakes not to fight by armed struggle, but to conduct its political struggle on the basis of observing the laws that are in force now, within the framework of the existing state institutions, once a cease-fire accord has come into effect. So, those institutions will not be created: They already exist. The state institutions include, first, the president of the republic; second, the assembly of the republic; third, the government and the existing judicial organs. Those are the main institutions that are in force. So, that is the government which will continue to rule from the time a cease-fire is signed until the elections are held."

"Regarding the adherence to the accords which we will sign in Rome, there will be a commission as stated in the accord. Under the terms of the accord, the commission will supervise and control the implementation of the general peace accord. That commission will include representatives of the government, Renamo, the UN, and other countries and organizations which we will choose on an equal footing. It will not rule the country, but will control and supervise the implementation of the general peace accord. I am confident of that. The same applies to Renamo because it has signed the accord."

[Announcer] Should the Law on Parties be reviewed or even suspended? Will the government hold talks with emerging political parties? Or is it too early to talk about it?

[Chissano] "Well, it is not soon or late. I have already held talks with a number of party leaders even before the signing of the accord, and even before groups of Mozambicans began debating about the formation of political parties. There are different views about this matter."

"I feel that we can talk to Renamo, probably because it is the most difficult side to deal with. Everything depends on peace and a cease-fire with Renamo. The fact is that when we talk we take into account the various meetings I have had with the leaders of groups about to become political parties. I do not believe that there will be difficulties in coming to an agreement."

"In Rome, Renamo will talk of principles. We will see what is reasonable. Everything will be centered on our premise that we will follow what is best for the people. So, the other parties might be approached under those circumstances. We will continue to do what we have been doing after we hear what Renamo has to say. We have spoken to some of the groups though the latter have not yet been registered as parties."

"What we foresee is that consultations about the Law on Parties is a must before the assembly of the republic makes a decision. We hope that before that happens parties would have been registered. The registration of

parties is an important aspect because it protects them, and gives them legal standing. We have already seen what happens with the existing groups. One day they have a leader, the next day they have another. They have even quarreled among themselves. That has happened with the Mozambique Liberal and Democratic Party and the Mozambican National Union. So, parties must be registered for their own interest. We want to know with whom we are talking when we begin consultations."

"Renamo also has some problems. Although some of its members have left, Renamo is an organization which we can identify with certainty. We know who Renamo's leaders are. But the best Renamo can do is to register itself as a party because nobody can guarantee to me that Renamo will remain as it is today once a cease-fire accord is signed."

"Likewise, the Frelimo Party has also been registered. We will consult those parties which have attained a certain standing, otherwise we would be talking to mere groups of Mozambicans. Nothing can prevent us from consulting groups of Mozambicans. We will even consult this group sitting right here to find out what you think of the electoral law. Yet, we must be certain that those who want to play party politics have a clear idea of what they want."

[Announcer] There have been persistent reports that for historic reasons, a general accord between the government and Renamo would be signed in Portugal. Has that possibility been completely ruled out?

[Chissano] "Well, I am not aware of what arrangements have been made by Portugal and Italy in that regard. I do not think it would be viable to negotiate an accord in a venue, and sign it in another venue. What I can say is that I have never heard about those arrangements, not even from the Portuguese Government or any other quarter. All I know is that the Portuguese Government wants to support the negotiating process and the Italian mediators. If that support means that arrangements will be made in order to sign the accord elsewhere, that is something that has to be discussed. I have never discussed that with the mediators, the two delegations to the Rome talks, or with our government."

[Announcer] Will government stop carrying out military actions when the mediators and Renamo wish to meet inside the country?

[Chissano] "If the Joint Verification Commission feels that it must use that clause of the protocol, it will approach us. Then, we will study the matter on an individual case basis."

[Announcer] Will it be advisable to hold assembly of the republic sessions before the signing of the general peace accord, considering that Renamo might claim that laws contravening the spirit of the signed protocols are being approved?

[Chissano] "Obviously, that question will be put to the assembly. It would be counterproductive to create laws

which contravene what we have agreed, and once we are about to sign a peace accord. We want to achieve peace, and even the assembly wants that to happen. We have laws that are in force, however, and laws will be approved while we talk. Our delegation must take those laws into account when it negotiates. When I, as the president, am consulted on whether we must be flexible on certain issues, I must also take those laws into account. But I do not foresee that once we reach agreement, the Assembly will create a law which will raise obstacles to fulfilling what has been agreed."

[Announcer] Will Renamo have to register as a political party, or will it be accorded special status?

[Chissano] "It would be impossible for Renamo not to register as a party. Renamo will have to register as a party. The Frelimo Party, which is the ruling party, had to register as a political party. In view of Renamo's special situation, some considerations will have to be made when it comes to the registration of that organization."

"In other words, whereas we need to know whether the Independent Congress of Mozambique, Coinmo, has a following in two, three, four, or five provinces, the same does not apply to Renamo because it is fighting us in all provinces. So, there is a difference. Moreover, we are negotiating peace with Renamo. Therefore, there is a difference between the following of Coinmo and Renamo, but that does not mean that Renamo will be a nonentity."

"A party which is not registered is a nonentity, just like a man who might have a name, but before the state he is a nonentity as long as he has not been registered. The same applies to the church. As long as a person is not baptized, he is not recognized by the church. Once a name is given to a person when he is baptized or registered, the government and state will be able to deal with him. Such a person can then buy a house, register his property, and so on. He will have to register in one way or another, otherwise he will not have identity papers to sign application forms, or have his signature authenticated by the notary. So, as a legal entity, a party must register."

Renamo's Dhlakama Welcomes Signing

*MB2010155291 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1500 GMT 20 Oct 91*

[Excerpt] The leader of the Mozambican Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, has welcomed the signing of a protocol between his organization and the Mozambican Government.

The protocol is the first in a series of agreements expected to lead to a cease-fire in Mozambique, and which is to be followed eventually by multiparty elections.

Speaking in a telephone interview from the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, Mr. Dhlakama told our Africa Desk that Renamo had invited observers from the international monitoring team stationed in the Mozambican capital of Maputo to its bush headquarters at Gorongosa

in central Mozambique. He said the observers could visit Gorongosa as soon as possible.

Mr. Dhlakama appealed for peace in Mozambique, and he denied that Renamo had been responsible for the massacre of civilians. He said that as a guerrilla organization, Renamo relied on the good will of the population, and that such actions would therefore be counterproductive.

He said the Mozambican Government had been forced to the negotiating table because it had been defeated in the field. South African aid to his movement had ceased after the signing of the Nkomati Accord between the Mozambican and South African Governments in 1984, but the authorities in Maputo had continued to receive aid from many sources, including Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Cuba.

Mr. Dhlakama said Renamo had been striving for multiparty democracy from the beginning of the Mozambican civil war, and expressed optimism that his movement would win a free and fair election.

The present round of peace talks between Renamo and the Mozambican Government is scheduled to resume in Rome on Tuesday [22 October]. [passage omitted]

Peace Talks To Resume 23 Oct

*MB2310095291 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0800 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] The peace talks between the government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] will continue in Rome today with the discussion of the first point on the agenda, which deals with political issues as well as the law on parties and the electoral law.

The MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY correspondent said the mediators as well as the two warring parties have been revealing [words indistinct] in an atmosphere described as calm and serene.

Don Matteo Zuppi of the Saint Egidio Order described the peace talks atmosphere as constructive. This view was shared by Government's chief negotiator Armando Guebuza and Renamo External Relations head Raul Domingos.

Armando Guebuza expressed the hope that the fundamental principles protocol signed by both parties will provide a greater flexibility in the discussion of political issues and guarantees over the implementation of all accords to be signed before the cease-fire.

In turn, Raul Domingos hoped that during these round of talks the two parties would sign another two protocols connected with the law on parties and the electoral law.

On the possibility of signing a cease-fire accord by the end of the year, Raul Domingos declined to set a date so as and we quote, to avoid disappointing people, unquote.

Also commenting on this issue, Armando Guebuza said that the government delegation has always been ready to

discuss all issues contained on the agenda until the signing of a cease-fire accord.

Parties' Legalization Discussed

MB2410073691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, discussed the principles for the creation and legalization of political parties in the country yesterday in Rome.

The two delegations presented their respective positions regarding the working document proposed by the Italian mediators during the last round of talks held in August this year.

The two parties feel, however, that it is still premature to make public comments on the talks, which resumed last Tuesday [22 October].

Shifts in Renamo Stances Viewed

MB2410180691 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report from Rome by Tomas Vieira Mario]

[Text] The Mozambican Government and the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, currently holding the eighth round of their peace talks in Rome, could substantially reconcile their stands on the principles governing the formation of Mozambican political parties before the weekend is over.

Sources close to the peace talks have suggested that the proposals put forth by both sides contain satisfying affinities. On 22 October, Renamo presented a general principles counterproposal to a working document previously presented by the Italian mediators.

Those sources say that in its counterproposal Renamo abandons past controversial stands that had been opposed by the Mozambican Government because it found they threatened its sovereignty. Among other things, Renamo is reported to have abandoned its stand that political parties should be registered by a neutral UN body. Renamo is now reported to have indicated quite clearly in its counterproposal that that function must devolve on the government.

In terms of general principles, Renamo's proposal also coincides with that of the Mozambican Government in the sense that it says the implementation of multiparty democracy in our country must also protect national unity and peace. For that reason, all political parties must have a national dimension and avoid all divisive or discriminatory tendencies of a tribal, ethnic, regional, racial, or religious nature. The Mozambican Government is reported to have perceived Renamo's document as basically satisfactory, even though it found some of its parts unacceptable at a plenary session held yesterday.

The Italian mediating team noted the points of agreement and disagreement in order to produce a general document that will try to reconcile differences. That general document is expected to reach both sides today. Optimistically speaking, it is possible that the two sides could sign a protocol on this issue early next week.

After that, they will move on to discussions on the Electoral Law, including the definition of a timetable for multiparty elections in the country.

Renamo's Dhlakama Denies Military Aid From Kenya

EA2410213591 Nairobi KNA in English 1833 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Nairobi, 24th October (KNA)—The president of the Mozambican National Resistance (Renamo), Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, said here today that Kenya was the only country in Africa that initially supported negotiations as a solution to conflicts between the Mozambique Government and Renamo. At the same time the Renamo leader denied allegations leveled against the Kenya Government that it had been supporting the movement with military training to fight [the] Mozambican ruling party, Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front]. Mr. Dhlakama told the local and international press corps at Chester [House], Nairobi, during a press conference that the only support Kenya gave Renamo was the initiative to enter into dialogue with Frelimo to seek for peaceful solutions to the problems facing their country. [passage omitted]

* Communiqué Lists FAM Victories Over Renamo

92AF0018B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 16 Sep 91 p 1

[Text] In the first half of this year, the Mozambican Armed Forces [FAM] won several victories in the theater of operations, victories characterized by the destruction of the so-called Office of the Presidency of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in Nhanzuazua, in Gorongosa District, Sofala Province, the Renamo political base in Nhamagodoa, and the office of secret services and of the General Staff of the Renamo in Senga-Senga and Nhamperua, respectively, in Sofala Province, as well as the Renamo's commercial base in Nhampale, in Mutarara District, Tete Province.

According to a communiqué from the press office of the Armed Forces General Staff, operations were conducted during the same period in the northern and southern regions of the country, culminating in the destruction of the Renamo encampments in Mandela (Muidumbe), Iocola, in Cabo Delgado Province, Massana and Naquira, in Nampula Province, Malambe and Matade II, in Inhambane Province, and Vundica, in Maputo Province.

As a result of these victories, the Mozambican Armed Forces recovered Lalaua, Mogincual, and Mecuburi districts, in Nampula Province, which had been temporarily occupied by the Renamo.

Also in the same period, the FAM killed 2,250 armed bandits of the Renamo and captured another 365, and 95 bandits surrendered to the Mozambican Army. In the same operation, the army seized 1,235 enemy weapons of various types and liberated 6,821 people who had been forced to live under the Renamo.

The communique states that the information was announced during the meeting to take an accounting of the activities of the Armed Forces General Staff during the last six months. The meeting was held from 11 to 14 September and was chaired by General Alberto Joaquim Chipande, minister of defense.

Addressing the meeting, Gen Alberto Chipande praised the Mozambican Armed Forces for continuing to guarantee the defense of the country's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence.

Chipande urged the participants to give deep thought to the need to improve the execution of the programs recommended for the second half of this year, with regard to the process of reorganizing the Mozambican Armed Forces.

The defense minister also recommended more effective use of the material and financial resources made available by the government to improve and discipline the administration of the Army.

Participants in the meeting included Lieutenant General Antonio Hama They, Armed Forces chief of general staff and vice minister of national defense, commanders of the service branches, and department chiefs of the Ministry of National Defense and the Armed Forces General Staff.

The principal objectives of the semiannual meeting were to evaluate the enemy situation, the operational activities, and the multilateral preservation of the security of the Mozambican Armed Forces.

In the presentation of the reports of the commanders of the branches and the central directorate, the process in progress to reorganize the FAM and the combat training of the various units was also reviewed, as well as the improvement of the organization of the Mozambican Army.

*** Food Emergency Hits Northern Inhambane**

92AF0018A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
10 Sep 91 p 8

[Article by Antonio Sefane]

[Text] About 98,000 people in districts in northern Inhambane Province are in immediate need of food aid from the DPPCCN [Provincial Department for the Prevention of and Combat Against Natural disasters], as a result of the renewed attacks by armed groups of the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] and the prevailing drought that has been devastating the region for several years. NOTICIAS has learned.

Jose Armando Silvestre, director of the DPPCCN in Inhambane Province, confirmed the fact and announced that this week this agency of the Ministry of Cooperation would send 10 trucks with foodstuffs to those districts. "These are the 98,000 some people who need immediate food aid and whom the DPPCCN will be assisting directly, but there are another 53,370 people living in Mabote District who are assisted by the ADRA [expansion not given], but who are also in urgent need of food aid," Silvestre stressed.

A delegation of the National Executive Commission of the Office of Emergency, led by the national director of the Department for the Prevention of and Combat Against Natural Disasters, recently visited the northern region of Inhambane Province, where it observed that "the situation is critical and requires immediate intervention" by the agencies involved in support to people displaced by the war and the drought which has persisted for several years. "While the drought has been cyclical in the northern region of the province, particularly in Mabote, Funhalouro, and Governo districts, making it impossible to grow more than one crop per year, it is the resurgence of the criminal activity by elements of the Renamo which is preventing the people from producing anything and is thus increasing their dependence on outside aid," stressed a source linked to the Office of Emergency in Inhambane.

In effect, the armed groups of the Renamo have recently intensified their activity in Inhambane, particularly in the northern and central zones of the province, where there are daily reports of murder, castration, rape, and plunder of the property of the peasant population.

According to Jose Armando Silvestre, DPPCCN director in Inhambane, "the people in that region not only need food, clothing, and shelter, but also production tools and materials." Thus, "the convoy which will go to the region this week will also be carrying some of these items. In distributing the production tools and materials, we will also include Mabote District, which, as we said, receives food aid from the ADRA," he said.

Accounting for the Last Eight Months

In the interview which he granted to our correspondent in Inhambane, Silvestre said that in the last eight months the DPPCCN has received donations of more than 3,090 tons of corn, 706 tons of sugar, 440 sacks of dried fish, 1,232 bundles of used clothing, and 3,704 pairs of shoes. According to the DPPCCN director, during the same period, Inhambane also received 25 tons of "nhemba" bean seeds, 32 tons of butter bean seeds, and 36 tons of seed corn.

"The products that we have received, including 7,056 axes, 10,410 machetes, and 11,100 hoes, are inadequate to cover all the districts, because of the growing number of needy people as a result of the resurgence of Renamo activity, particularly in the coastal districts," Silvestre said, adding that the articles had been distributed to 84,790 displaced people and 151,274 affected people.

The speaker noted that, at the beginning of this year, the statistics indicated the presence of 74,800 displaced people and 112,369 affected people in Inhambane. When we compare these figures with the number of recipients of products distributed throughout this year, it is clear that the numbers have increased. "As you can see, our capacity to provide for the needy people is not all that could be desired, because we would need more than 2,511 tons of grain, 276 tons of legumes, and 52 tons of cooking oil per month, which is well beyond our capacity," said the DPPCCN director.

Limited Transport Fleet

The transport capacity of the DPPCCN in Inhambane is estimated at about 200 tons, which Silvestre also considers inadequate to cover all the districts. In all, there are 20 small, medium, and large trucks to transport the products donated by the international community for distribution to the various districts in the province.

For the more remote zones of the districts, which the trucks obviously cannot reach because of the poor condition of the access roads, the products are transported by tractor; the DPPCCN has five of these.

According to Silvestre, the DPPCCN needs five more trucks, with a total capacity of 60 tons, "to conduct our activities efficiently."

"Moreover," the DPPCCN director continued, "every month we send a truck to the districts in the south of the province, more precisely, to Zavala and Inharrime districts, where we distribute products."

At the end of last year, armed gangs of the Renamo burned six DPPCCN trucks in Inhambane as they were transporting goods to some districts, to be distributed to the people affected by the war and the drought. The trucks, which were burned on the road which links Inhambane City with National Highway No. 1, were not traveling under escort.

In this regard, Jose Armando Silvestre told us that two of the burned trucks had been restored and that another one would soon be leaving the machine shop when the work on it was completed. "Regarding the drivers, they were all dismissed for traveling without the necessary escort for their protection and the traffic controller was demoted for a three-month period because he did not meet his obligations," Silvestre said.

Namibia

Minister Charges RSA of Recruiting 'Third Force'

MB1910085291 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Interview with Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab by BBC reporter Julian Marshall in Harare; date not given—from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Throughout the discussions of the violence in South Africa [RSA], particularly in the Transvaal, it has been mentioned on several occasions that the authorities are deploying men from fighting forces outside South Africa. Men from Mozambique's rebel movement, Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], have been mentioned, as well as Angolans who joined the South African side in the 1970's. More recently, there have been rumors that former Koevoet [Crowbar; former police counter-insurgency unit in Southwest Africa] members are at large in South Africa. Koevoet, or Crowbar, was the name of a crack unit in Namibia. It gained notoriety before independence for their violent suppression of Namibia's liberation movements. Namibia's Minister for Foreign Affairs Theo-Ben Gurirab is in Harare for the Commonwealth meeting and there Julian Marshall asked him whether these rumors of Koevoet's South African activities had reached his ears.

[Begin recording] [Gurirab] I can confirm this to be true. South African authorities have by various means been recruiting and transporting Namibians that had belonged to ex-Koevoet and ex-SWADF [South-West African Defense Force] for deployment in South Africa. South African officials have themselves confirmed this to be the case. I have had correspondences on the subject with the South African foreign minister, expressing our deep concern about it and saying that while the Namibian Constitution allows Namibians to leave and return to the country, our Defense Act prohibits Namibian citizens from serving in foreign forces. The South African Government has not denied, as a matter of fact it has in fact confirmed that these Namibians are there. There are reports that they are part of what is called a third force, elements that are being deployed in townships, that are raiding trains and killing innocent South Africans. This is something of great concern to us. I intend to communicate yet again with the South African foreign minister to express our concern about this.

[Marshall] Who is recruiting them? I mean, you referred to them being recruited.

[Gurirab] The one official who confirmed it is the former minister for police, Mr. Adrian Vlok.

[Marshall] But who is doing the recruiting?

[Gurirab] That is enough for us. It is the South African military, police, security forces.

[Marshall] And what kind of numbers are we talking about?

[Gurirab] It is difficult to be certain about numbers, perhaps in hundreds.

[Marshall] And there is actually nothing you can do to stop it?

[Gurirab] Well, they are being deployed inside of South Africa. We can only communicate with South Africans to bring to their attention our concern, but we also feel that we should inform the outside world about their reports also about some Angolans being there, some elements

from Renamo being there. We know that the notorious Buffalo Battalion 32 is also there. So there are foreigners, mercenaries and others that are being used for the violence that South African (?strap funds) are paying for. This is a matter of concern not only for us, as Namibians. If indeed we hope for negotiations for a peaceful solution to the apartheid problem, these are things that cannot augur well for the peaceful solution which all of us desire for South Africa. [end recording]

Swaziland

Prime Minister Appeals for Cabinet Cooperation

MB1910145291 Mbabane THE SWAZI NEWS
in English 19 Oct 91 p 24

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "PM Calls for Team Work"]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini has appealed for cooperation between him and the new cabinet.

Speaking after nine newly appointed ministers were sworn in by the Attorney General, Mr Absalom Thwala, Mr Dlamini said as ministers of the crown, they can only discharge their duties if they work as a team.

Mr Dlamini said as cabinet ministers, they have the task of governing the country to the best of their ability.

"The entire nation will be looking upon us to find solutions to the many socio-economic problems facing the country.

"We can only hope to effectively charge [as published] our duties, as ministers of the crown if we work as a team and observe, at all times the principles of collective responsibility.

"We should always stand united as a team and be always prepared to advise and support one another in a true spirit of comradeship."

Mr Dlamini said the country is confronted with many serious problems to which the government under his leadership is expected to find prompt solutions.

"The most pressing problem areas which need to be addressed as a matter of priority are the rapidly worsening unemployment situation in the country, urgent need to increase food production and to expand the capacity of our schools system so as to be able to absorb the swelling numbers of Swazi children who need places in our schools.

"The mounting problem of lack of adequate housing in our urban areas is clearly reflected in the many slum settlements that are mushrooming all over the place.

"The people living in most of these slums are exposed to health hazards due to the lack of clean water supply and sanitary facilities in these settlements. [No closing quotation marks as published]

Zambia

Preparations for National Elections Continue

Monitor 'Narrowly' Avoids Deportation

MB2410155691 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Rachel Rawlins from Lusaka; on the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] A leading Zambian churchman, Bishop John Mambo, has apparently narrowly escaped being packed off to South Africa as an illegal alien. Bishop Mambo, a frequent critic of the government and a member of the team set up to monitor the forthcoming general elections, was arrested, served with a deportation order, and briefly detained last night. He protested that he has a Zambian father and a Swazi mother. Eventually, intervention on his behalf came from the highest possible source.

My colleague Rachel Rawlins is in Lusaka. She talked to Bishop Mambo about his ordeal and sent this report.

[Begin Rawlins recording] I met Bishop Mambo this morning here in Lusaka, as he arrived looking relaxed and cheerful from a meeting of the Zambian Electoral Monitoring Coordination Committee, ZEMCC. This, despite a report in the TIMES OF ZAMBIA newspaper that he has already been deported to South Africa. He told me that yesterday afternoon he received a telephone call from the Immigration Department asking him to report to their offices in Lusaka. He assumed that his passport was to be returned because earlier this week he received an assurance from President Kaunda that the problem would soon be resolved. Instead, to his surprise, he was served with a deportation order signed by Minister of Home Affairs General Kingsley Chinkuli and taken to Lusaka Central Prison.

Bishop Mambo told me that although his mother came from Swaziland, his father was a Zambian. Quite by chance, two of his colleagues from the ZEMCC, the chairman, Reverend (Softon) Sakala and the Anglican bishop of Lusaka, Bishop Stephen Mumba, were both due to attend an official function at State House that evening. Reverend (Sakala) told me this morning that as soon as they arrived at the function, they made an appointment to see the president when it was over. He told me that they pleaded for President Kaunda to intercede in the matter and that they would not go home until Bishop Mambo was released.

He said the president appeared to be unaware of the deportation order and he spent more than two hours trying to contact General Chinkuli by telephone. When he eventually spoke to the general, President Kaunda ordered Bishop Mambo's immediate release and the Bishop returned home at about 1100 [2100 GMT] yesterday evening.

When I asked Bishop Mambo if he thought there was any reason for General Chinkuli's [word indistinct] action, he refused to comment but said there would be a press conference on the issue tomorrow. [end recording]

Minister Dismisses Fraud Allegations

MB2410191091 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting Services Leonard Mvula has dismissed allegations made by MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] Nkana parliamentary constituency aspirant (Bernie Ngoni) that he pocketed 50 million kwacha meant for the construction of the Kitwe Central Hospital's mortuary.

Comrade Mvula said in Kitwe today that the allegations made by Mr. (Ngoni) were what he called a heap of rubbish aimed at discrediting him. Comrade Mvula said he is a very clean politician because the 50 million kwacha was [words indistinct] got the money. Comrade Mvula, who is contesting the Nkana parliamentary seat, also denied allegations made by Mr. (Ngoni) that he was being sponsored by (?secret) safaris [as heard], saying UNIP [United National Independence Party] candidates were sponsored by the party itself.

Monitoring Team Press Briefing

MB2410191491 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] A team of Commonwealth observers has called for representatives of all the political parties taking part in the 31 October elections to be at every polling station, as well as accompany ballot boxes to counting centers. Speaking during a press briefing held at Pamose Hotel in Lusaka, leader of the group Justice (Telford Georges) said that was the only in which to ensure free and fair elections.

Justice (Georges) also said that they had heard all the arguments [words indistinct] to the forthcoming elections and the Commonwealth team was here to observe the process leading to the elections and take note of it all. The Commonwealth observer group, consisting of 13 members, will be supported by nine [word indistinct] from the Commonwealth secretariat headed by Mr. (Carl Dundu), as senior director.

Kaunda on UNIP Election Chances

MB2410192091 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] President Kaunda today said that UNIP [United National Independence Party] was a democratic party which was ready for change and described the party's contribution to the development of Zambia as immense.

The president, who said he was sure that UNIP will win the 31 October elections, emphasized that UNIP was changing all the time. Dr. Kaunda, who was speaking in an interview with foreign press [word indistinct] at State

House, however said if UNIP lost the elections he would hand over power but that he would continue to lead and help UNIP win the next elections.

Answering a question from one pressman, as to whether he considered retiring, Dr. Kaunda said he would retire when UNIP (?tells him so).

Report on Preparations

MB2510094591 London BBC World Service in English 0430 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Rachel Rawlins from Lusaka; on the "Network Africa" program]

[Excerpts] Yesterday, the people of Zambia marked the 27th anniversary of their independence. Now, by the time next year's anniversary arrives, Zambia could be a different place, you know.

Of course, that depends largely on the outcome of next Thursday's [31 October] multiparty elections—the first in over 15 years. President Kaunda and his UNIP [United National Independence Party] Party are facing a formidable challenge from an opposition headed by the MMD, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, whose leader is Frederick Chiluba.

Rachel Rawlins of the BBC is in Zambia and she reports now on the issues that are dominating the election campaign.

[Begin recording] [Rawlins] The voice of (?reason) and love speaks through UNIP's campaign adverts: Be wise, vote for UNIP and KK [Kenneth Kaunda]; and then in brackets underneath: You: trusted leadership.

MMD adverts are rather more declamatory: President Chiluba is your only hope for a future that works; the hour has come.

This is an election largely being fought on the personalities of the two party leaders. Hardly surprising, I suppose, when you consider the length of time, one person, President Kaunda, has been in charge of the country. But what are the issues at stake in this election that actually matter to the ordinary voter? I have been talking to Zambians to find out what is important in these elections to them.

[First unidentified speaker] The most important thing, we would like our economy to pick up.

[Second speaker] In a one-party state, it looks as if things were badly run and that led our nation into ruins and to bad economy. But for multiparty, I think it's a good idea because in a multiparty system, you find that when they go into parliament they debate. When the donors give us money they will make sure they make accountability of that money and make checks and balances to see whether the money is spent on the right things.

[Third speaker] To fight hunger, that is the most important reform.

[Rawlins] There is also concern about the way the elections are being run. One major concern has been access by all parties to the media. There were accusations that some newspapers and the radio and television were biased, giving far more coverage to UNIP than to the opposition parties.

During a visit to Zambia, former American President Jimmy Carter, who is heading an international monitoring team to observe the elections, spoke of excessive censorship. Less than two weeks ago, the Press Association of Zambia won an injunction against the heads of the National Broadcasting Corporation and the state-run TIMES OF ZAMBIA which prevents them from working until after the elections are over. The press association accused them of bias in favor of UNIP.

Recently (Lister Palma) headed another Carter Center delegation to Zambia to discuss preparations for the elections and T. A. Taylor of the monitoring team told me how exactly was the state of the press freedom. [passage omitted]

Another concern is the continued existence of the state of emergency regulations. These have been in effect for all Zambia's 27 years of independence. Former President Jimmy Carter announced that President Kaunda gave him an undertaking that the regulations would be lifted by the end of September. I asked the chairman of the Zambia independent monitoring team, David Phiri, why his organization thought it was important the state of emergency should be lifted.

[Phiri] I think people feel [words indistinct] as long as the law is there. It is very very difficult for people to accept it that it may not be used at a crucial time. We hope not.

[Rawlins] With only a few days to go before polling its seems there is very little time left to resolve these problems. So most people are concentrating on campaign issues. But there is one final factor that complicates the job of election [word indistinct] here. For a population of more than 8 million, a mere 2.9 million are registered to vote. The last thorough revision of the electoral roll took place in 1988 well before the legalization of opposition parties. Some diplomats and political analysts I have spoken to question whether the votes of such a small percentage of the population will accurately reflect popular preferences throughout the country.

Others say the sample may be small but it will be representative. Whichever is the case, excitement in Zambia is mounting with just a few days to go before voters make their choice. [end recording]

Zimbabwe

Australia's Hawke Meets President Mugabe 23 Oct

MB2410081591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0147 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Harare Oct 23 SAPA—Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who is on a state visit to Zimbabwe, on Wednesday held private talks with the President Robert Mugabe on bilateral and international issues.

Mr Hawke told ZIANA after the meeting that they discussed a wide range of issues concerning the relationship between Zimbabwe and Australia.

"We also discussed the structural adjustment programme, on which Australia is going to provide technical assistance to Zimbabwe," he said.

Mr Hawke is scheduled to visit Kutama Mission and Hospital on Thursday before leaving for home.

Mugabe Congratulatory Messages to Pope, Castro

MB2410082791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0212 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Harare Oct 23 SAPA—Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe on Wednesday sent a congratulatory message to Pope John Paul II on the occasion of the National Day of the Vatican, the ZIANA news agency reports.

In his message, Mr Mugabe said Zimbabwe cherished the spiritual relations that existed between the two states.

"Your very fruitful and successful state visit to Zimbabwe in September 1988 and my recent visit to the Holy See this year are a clear testimony to the strong bonds of friendship between the Holy See and Zimbabwe," he said.

Meanwhile, in his capacity as first secretary of ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union] PF [Patriotic Front], Mr Mugabe has sent another congratulatory message to Cuban President Fidel Castro on his re-election as first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party.

The Gambia

Authorities Deport 980 Illegal Immigrants

AB2310205091 Paris AFP in English 1818 GMT
23 Oct 91

[Text] Banjul, Oct 23 (AFP)—Gambian authorities have deported 980 West African illegal immigrants, most of them from Guinea and Sierra Leone, informed sources said here Wednesday [23 October]. The deportees were all escorted to the border where they were expelled. The move is believed to have been prompted by concern over rising crime. Three people were killed last month in hold-ups committed by foreigners, police said.

Ghana

PRC-Financed Project Workers Clash With Police

AB2410165691 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 22 Oct 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Building workers downed tools today in the Ghanaian capital, bringing to a halt one of the country's most prestigious projects. Since March last year, work has been under way on the \$15 million National Theater, a joint project between Ghana and China. There is still another year of work to be done, but until now there has been praise for the steady pace of work by the Ghanaian builders on the site. However, this morning, the workers staged a protest and clashed with police. From Accra, Ben Ephson telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Whenever I walked past the National Theater project, I marveled at the enthusiasm with which people worked. But, this morning, when I took my customary walk past the building site, I saw only a handful of Chinese supervisors there. The workers, about 200 of them, were standing across the road. They had gone on strike and were shouting and singing. The police were also on the scene, pleading to the workers to resume work, but the workers would hear nothing of this and booed and jeered the police. I spoke to one of the workers' leaders and he said they are on strike because last month, their employer, the Chinese Government, had agreed to give the workers a 40 percent pay rise but now, it has refused to endorse the agreement.

Having got the workers' viewpoint, I decided to walk down to the Trade Union Congress where an official of the workers' parent union, The Building and Construction Workers Union, told me that the strike was illegal. The strike was, indeed, illegal and the police's patience with the demonstrators ran out. They decided to break up the demonstration but the police did not use tear gas or rubber bullets or anything of that sort. They just picked up some sticks lying around and attacked the workers. Some of them were injured, including a 40-year man, Aryee Boye, who got head wounds.

Now, it was time for me to confront the national coordinator of the theater project, Mr. Paul Aliba, and asked him why the workers were not getting their salary increase. Mr. Aliba said the delay in signing the agreement could be explained simply. First, it has to be translated into Chinese for the employers, that is, the Chinese Government officials. That takes time. And then, it has to be sent to Beijing for approval. That too takes time. So, the workers just have to be patient and understanding.

Talks between workers' representatives, the Ghanaian Government, and Chinese Embassy representatives are scheduled to take place this afternoon to resolve the impasse. There is bound to be a heated debate but let us hope all sides walk out satisfied. [end recording]

Nigeria

Investigation Panel on Kano Riots Inaugurated

AB2410142791 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] In Kano State, a 13-member panel to investigate the recent religious disturbances has been inaugurated. The Kano State Governor, Colonel Idris Garba, said the panel will, among other things, investigate the remote and the immediate causes of the disturbances, which erupted on October 14. The panel will also determine the extent of damage to property and loss of lives, and identify those who suffered as a result of the disturbances. Col. Garba expressed regret that what started as a peaceful and conventional protest suddenly turned into wild skirmishes. He (?appealed) to the members of the public to cooperate with members of the panel through frank testimonies to enable them to do a thorough job for a collective benefit.

More To Face Trial for Involvement in 1990 Coup

AB2410090091 Paris AFP in English 0826 GMT
24 Oct 91

[Text] Lagos, Oct 24 (AFP)—Nigeria has put more suspects on trial for involvement in the April 1990 coup attempt against President Ibrahim Babangida, Army chief of staff General Salihu Ibrahim said.

Two earlier rounds of trials in July and September 1990 led to the execution by firing squad of 69 people for their role in the coup attempt, after which several hundred soldiers and civilians were arrested.

General Babangida [as received] told local reporters Wednesday of the new trials, which he said were being held at the same military building here where the first two trials took place. He did not say how many suspects were involved in the new trial.

Babangida narrowly escaped an artillery attack on his residence at the Dodan Army barracks here on April 22, 1990. Most of those involved in the plot, which was led by Major Gideon Orkar, were from the southern state of Bendel.

Orkar was executed July 27, 1990.

Government Admits Secret Trials

*AB2410192991 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 24 Oct 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For some time, there has been mounting speculation in Nigeria of a secret trial of alleged coup-plotters involved in the conspiracy of April last year. The Nigerian Government has been embarrassed by international outcries and complaints from internal human rights organizations over the conduct of treason trials and the mass executions that have taken place. Well, now, Nigeria's army chief of staff, General Ibrahim, has admitted that the trial has been going on behind firmly closed doors. From Lagos, David Bamford reports:

[Begin recording] Speculation has been rife in Lagos for some weeks about unexplained goings-on at the Brigade of Guard Headquarters on Victoria Island. Rumors of a secret trial have been circulating since armored cars took up positions in early September outside the headquarters gates. The army chief of staff, General Ibrahim, has now confirmed that a trial is taking place behind closed doors. He said it was a continuation of the Special Military Tribunal that sentenced 69 people to death following last year's attempt to overthrow President Babangida.

General Ibrahim would not be drawn on how many people were currently being tried, but a week ago, the Nigerian Civil Liberties Organization, the CLO, said it had learned that 11 people—nine soldiers and two civilians—were involved. It said they were being tried on charges of treason and concealment of treason. There is little information about the identity of the suspects or about when they were arrested, but at least one is thought to be a relative of an alleged coup-plotter still at large. The CLO's national secretary, Mr. (Eme Ezeazu,) has criticized the trial, saying the suspects have been held incommunicado and are being denied access to lawyers. He expressed

concern that the trial may be followed up with another round of executions similar to those of last year which were condemned by human rights activists in Nigeria as well as by many western Governments. [end recording]

Army Chief of Staff on Coexistence With Neighbors

*AB2410101291 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 23 Oct 91*

[Text] The chief of Army staff, Lieutenant General Sahilu Ibrahim, says the adoption of dialogue by the Federal Government in solving problems, especially with neighboring countries, is not a sign of weakness. At a briefing for media representatives in Lagos today, Lt. Gen. Ibrahim reaffirmed that the Army was prepared to defend the country's territorial integrity at all times. Oke Ikwako was there:

[Begin recording] The chief of Army staff said that dialogue was in conformity with the country's policy of ensuring good neighborliness and peaceful coexistence among African countries. Gen. Ibrahim promised that [words indistinct] using her military might on small African countries at the slightest provocation, Nigeria will continue to adopt the policy of dialogue. Commenting on the size of the Nigerian Army, he pointed out that it was not too large, adding that it is threat that determined the size of any army. The Army chief disclosed that Nigeria had enough military tanks to take her through the next decade or two, however, efforts are being made to improve on them through research.

The chief of Army staff announced that the Army attached much importance to trends. This, he said, was with a view to getting the officers and men to (?be prepared) at all times. Gen. Ibrahim also said that one of his primary preoccupations had been attending to the (?welfare) of the individual soldier. To this, an improved welfare program had been packaged for officers and men of the Nigerian Army. It will become effective before the end of next year.

Gen. Salihu also used the occasion to announce that an investigation was being conducted to establish the role some soldiers played towards the escape of Mrs. Mukoro, wife of one of the April 22 [1990] coup plotters, from custody. [end recording]

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